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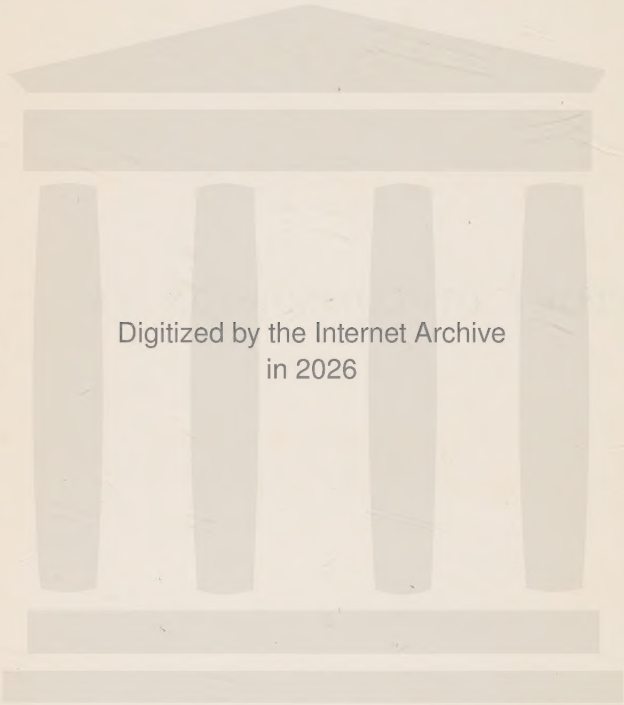
REPORT OF COMMISSION VII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World Missionary Conference, 1910

(To consider Missionary Problems in relation to the Non-Christian World)

REPORT OF COMMISSION VII

MISSIONS

AND

GOVERNMENTS

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With Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 20th June 1910

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Rheinsche Missionsgesellschaft.
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United Evangelical Church.
Welsh Calvinistic Church.
Brethren.
Bible Society.
Tract Society.
China Inland Mission.

MISSIONS AND GOVERNMENTS

INTRODUCTION

THE subject entrusted to the Commission by the Executive Committee of the Conference was the Relation between Missions and Governments. A paper of questions was prepared by the Commission and sent out to a number of correspondents in the mission field, and also to the principal Missionary Societies in Europe and America. The names of those from whom information has been received are printed at the beginning of the Report. The Commission desires to express its indebtedness to those whose evidence has made possible the presentation of facts and the formulation of the conclusions contained in this Report.

The Report consists of two parts. The first is a survey of existing conditions in mission lands, and for this the British members, who constitute the Executive Committee of the Commission, are responsible. The second part, consisting of principles and findings, embodies the mature conclusions of the entire Commission, including members of the Advisory Council in America. The American members of the Commission not only procured information of great importance from the Missionary Societies in North America, but also devoted a great deal of time and thought to the work of the Commission and to the elaboration of the conclusions here presented.

The consideration of the relations between Governments and Missions may be theoretically regarded as a study of one aspect of the great problem of the relation between the Church and the State, and the discrimination between their respective spheres. Those who have come to the study of the documents laid before the Commission with memories of ancient and modern conflicts in the ecclesiastical and civil history of Europe, must have recognised strange emergences of the same contending principles in the contact of the expanding Church with Governments which, for the first time, have had to take account of Christianity both as a destructive and a constructive power, contending for a law and a loyalty different from and higher than those recognised by any State.

But however great may be the material contributed by the history of modern Missions to the future elucidation of this perennial problem, the task of this Commission is not the ambitious one of defining the ideal relations of Church and State. It is the humble work of ascertaining, by a survey of existing facts, what attitude the various Governments assume towards Missions working within their borders, how they help and are helped by Missions, how they hinder them and, perchance, are hindered by them, with a view to disentangle the principles upon which Missions do work and should work in order to avoid needless offence, and to promote the common end, both of Governments and of Missions—the welfare of the nations. As compared with Governments, Missions have a more forward-reaching view of human destiny, a more extensive sphere of operations, a more inward and spiritual motive of work, a more clearly defined sense of God's claim on the individual conscience. But they nevertheless recognise the Divine authority of the civil power, however constituted, as the power to which is committed whatever external coercive action may be necessary to vindicate righteousness. To restrain evil and promote good is the duty of Government; and in this it is co-operant with the missionary. What are the true principles of their co operation? And how far

are the existing conditions favourable to the spiritual aims of the missionary enterprise?

The variety of Governments under which Missions work makes wide and fruitful generalisations as to their actual and ideal relations difficult to reach. In Japan, *e.g.*, a fully civilised native Government rules over a civilised and yet non-Christian people; in its neighbour, China, the Government is both antiquated in methods and defective in policy, according to European standards, and is therefore to some extent limited in its actions by European influences; in India a foreign Christian Government controls the destinies of 300,000,000 Hindus and Mohammedans; in Mohammedan lands the law of Islam, which, strictly interpreted, absolutely prohibits conversion to Christianity, is applied with various degrees of rigour; in European protectorates over uncivilised regions the amount of control varies infinitely, and Government policy varies with it; and in barbarous lands, still independent, the caprice of the chiefs, checked only by ancient usage and hereditary superstition, modifies the relations between them and the missionaries day by day. It follows that the only way in which we can hope to grasp leading principles is by a survey of the actual conditions in each great country or group of countries.

PART I

A SURVEY OF EXISTING CONDITIONS IN VARIOUS MISSION FIELDS

JAPAN

Missionaries in Japan have little evidence to contribute on many vexed questions with which missionaries elsewhere are familiar, and are practically unanimous in declaring themselves satisfied with the attitude taken up towards their work by the authorities.

GENERAL RELATIONS OF GOVERNMENT TO MISSIONS

As is well known, the Japanese, on account of the enmity aroused by the Roman Catholic Missions of the 16th and 17th centuries, had formerly very strict laws against Christianity. In every city and town these laws were displayed, and rewards were offered for information against Christians. Even after the opening of the country to Western trade, and the conclusion of treaties with the Western powers, fresh persecution arose. This led to protests on the part of representatives of the Treaty Powers, the missionaries having a part in bringing to their attention specific cases of persecution. The edicts against Christianity were removed from public view in 1873, and though not specifically repealed, were evidently to be left unenforced.

Japanese statesmen and administrators rapidly advanced in their grasp of the root principles of Western

progress and liberty. On the one hand, they secured the abrogation of all extra-territorial privileges possessed by foreigners, thus depriving foreign missionaries (among other aliens) of the right to call in their Consuls or Ministers for adjudication of any dispute into which they might have fallen. On the other hand, the Constitution, promulgated in 1889, declares "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief." At times one or two departments of the Government have acted in ways that seemed out of harmony with the spirit of this provision, and local officials have done the same; but these things are almost entirely of the past, and missionaries now very seldom find anything on the part of Government or officials that interferes with their work.

Missions, as a rule, have had few direct dealings with the civil authorities, except for the purpose of having themselves registered and legal corporations formed for holding real estate on behalf of the Missions. Beyond the inevitable delays caused by the routine of Government departments they have found no obstacle in the way of securing a firm and satisfactory legal position.

QUESTIONS OF APPEAL TO THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES, COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES, PERSECUTION, ETC.

The Government of Japan, as a highly civilised Power, recognises its duty both to its own subjects and to law-abiding citizens of friendly Powers residingw ithin its borders. Missionaries, like merchants or travellers, confidently look to it to prevent lawlessness, threatening danger to life or destruction to property. And compensation would doubtless be looked upon as a just claim. Nevertheless, in the most advanced non-Christian land, Christian Missions have to consider the result of claiming their legal rights upon the temper of the people. When in Tokyo a riot, caused by dissatisfaction with the terms of peace at the close of the war with Russia, led

to the damaging of some mission property, most if not all of the Missions affected thought it inadvisable to ask for compensation from the Government. Contributions made by Christians, Shintoists, and Buddhists compensated for a part of the damage.

Japanese Christians have secured for themselves a firm position in society, and are not persecuted. They are able to protest if there should be injustice of any kind: and it would be unnecessary and unwise for foreigners to interfere on their behalf.

MISSIONARY INFLUENCE ON LEGISLATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The foreign missionary has never had any direct influence upon legislation in Japan. But two things may be affirmed with confidence. The first is, that contact and intercourse with such missionaries as Guido Verbeck did much to furnish with knowledge and ideals the young men who created New Japan a generation ago. The second is, that the individual character, the family life, and the beneficent activity of missionaries have exerted, and still are exerting, a powerful influence on Japan in favour of moral and social progress. The missionary to-day has little direct connection with Japanese official life, but he has a close connection with the middle classes, and is exerting through them a steady uplifting influence in matters educational, industrial, and social.

UNITED ACTION OF MISSIONS

In Japan there has existed for some years a central body representing most of the Missions, called *The Standing Committee of the Co-operating Christian Missions*, which serves as a means of intercommunication and co-ordination. In case of need it would be the natural channel through which the entire missionary body might make representations to the Government.

CHINA

In China most of the matters under consideration by this Commission have, for many years, been burning questions. The attitude of the Chinese Government to all foreigners, its opposition to Christianity because of its connection with foreign powers, the twofold relation of missionaries to their own Governments and to that of China, the recurrence of riots and massacres, the armed intervention of foreign nations, the large amount of local self-government, the widespread corruption among officials, have created a most complicated and delicate situation. In no country is there a greater demand for patience, wisdom, and tact on the part of the missionary; for a grudging and suspicious toleration is the utmost he has been able, until very recently, to win from the Government, and even that right has often been practically refused by officials, and not known to exist by the ignorant people. It is true that a change for the better has lately been experienced; there are signs that a better day has dawned; and were this Report framed merely from the experience of the past few years, it would undoubtedly dwell less on the difficulties which have been found in mission work. To a Missionary Conference of a later day may be presented a Report which shall speak of an era of co-operation and good understanding between Missions and Government in China. But that time has not yet fully come.

THE TREATIES

No one now would venture to call China uncivilised, but it has not yet reached that level in legislation and

administration which European Governments look for before they can recognise another as on equal terms with themselves. China has, therefore, been compelled to enter into treaties in order to secure proper treatment for all foreigners, including toleration of Christian preachers and converts. And missionaries live under the protection of these treaties.

Some of our correspondents in China have expressed regret at the existence of these treaties, considering that, as they were extorted by force, the Mission work protected by them is continually liable to discredit, as apparently a piece of foreign aggression. It would be better, they hold, that Missions should work solely under the protection of God, unaided by the arm of flesh. The greater number, however, regard the treaties as, in some form or another, a necessity, not for the sake of missionaries as such, but for the security of foreigners of all classes, including missionaries.

It would, however, be irrelevant to the purpose of this Report to discuss in detail the treaties, which have to do with the relations of Government with Government, of Europe and America with China, and not immediately of Missions with Government. Missionaries do not cease to be thinking men and have their own ideas as to the origin, value, and effects of the treaties. But these do not enter into direct mission policy, except as a fact which has to be taken account of. Missionaries could not, if they would, repudiate for themselves the protection afforded by the treaties; their Governments cannot permit citizens to repudiate the status of their citizenship, and will insist on claiming treaty rights for missionaries, not because they are missionaries, but because they are citizens of their respective countries.

The treaties were originally framed for the furtherance of commerce, not for the protection of missionaries, but it would have been an absurdity, as well as an injustice, to *except* missionaries, which would be tantamount to inviting the people to insult, expel, or kill them, and

would, moreover, be equivalent to a repudiation of Christian obligations by Christian nations.

The legal position, then, of missionaries is that they may reside, acquire property, travel, and preach in the Empire; and their converts also are entitled to the protection of the law. The rights of a missionary are to be vindicated, if necessary, by an appeal to the Consul representing his own nationality; the rights of a Chinese Christian can only be vindicated before the Chinese courts.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT

The first question we must take up is: Does the Chinese Government, as a matter of fact, seek to carry out its treaty obligations; and, if so, do missionaries find that local officials extend to them the protection and rights guaranteed? In dealing with the evidence submitted, we have to be constantly mindful of the possible difference between the public attitude of the Government and the conduct of a particular official.

A survey of the history of the dealings of the Chinese Government with Missions would be out of place here. Its policy has been varied, even vacillating; and it has been determined in past times largely by pressure from Foreign Powers (exerted, however, not in behalf of Missions as such, but of trade and of the general interests of their "nationals"). It cannot, therefore, be assumed that the Chinese Government *wishes* to carry out its treaty policy; still less that local officials are eager to do so. Still, the evidence before us indicates that most missionaries believe that the Chinese Government during these last few years has been willing to tolerate and protect missionaries; and has begun to realise the beneficial result and disinterested aims, at least of Protestant Missions. There seems, unfortunately, little doubt that certain Missions have been in past time stalking-horses for European Powers bent on aggression; and therefore missionaries generally regard the attitude of the Government as by no means unnatural when it views with

reluctance and even suspicion the acquisition by foreigners of large and commanding sites and buildings. Missionaries, also, are more or less pioneers of changes; many of their Western habits are repugnant to the Chinese, official and non-official; and conciliatory as they may endeavour to be, and abundant in beneficent works, they still bear the offence of the Cross, and the Gospel which they preach is in many ways antagonistic to Chinese prejudices and deep-rooted ancestral feelings and usages. It is idle to expect the Chinese Government to *encourage* Missions; but there seems to be good reason to believe that an era of *tolerance* has set in.

With regard to local officials, from Viceroys downwards, missionaries have a very varied tale to tell. Many acts of kindness are recorded; but there is also widespread complaint regarding the corruption, the delays, the deception of many Chinese officials (which affect natives and foreigners alike), the suspicion and even hostility felt towards foreigners (in which the missionary has to bear his share), and the opposition to Christianity on the part of many of the *literati*—all of which things combine to prevent a missionary from getting what he believes to be his moral and even legal rights. The Chinese convert is in still worse case; for he cannot appeal directly to the foreign Consul. He is practically helpless and is often treated accordingly.

MISSIONARY APPEALS FOR INTERVENTION

The dominant desire in the mind of the missionary is to see the advance of the cause of Christ. And as his own treaty rights seem to secure him but elementary justice, he is naturally inclined to insist on them. On the other hand, missionaries in China are sympathetic with the difficulties of the Government, and understand why thinking Chinese should feel resentment against Foreign Powers, and suspicion of individual foreigners. They know that the door into China was forced open

by gun and bayonet, that European Powers have appropriated slices of the country, that dismemberment of the whole Empire has been talked about, and that in the past the Christian Church, as represented by Roman Catholicism, has not kept itself clear of political intrigue. Many of them seem to feel that in times past even missionaries of other Churches have not been sufficiently regardful of national sentiment or of the duty of upholding loyalty to the Imperial Government. And few of them are anxious to gain by appeal to the foreign Consul what they may with patience win from the native official.

In case of a foreign missionary being wronged in the prosecution of his work, he is entitled by treaty, nay, directed, to appeal to his country's diplomatic representative. And these representatives forbid, and look with extreme disfavour upon, any attempt on the part of the missionary to use his direct influence upon Chinese officials in case of interference with his work or persecution of his converts.

It would be vain to pretend that there is unanimity among missionaries as to the advisability of this course of action. A European Government, *e.g.*, has assumed a certain responsibility in China for the life and security of its citizens, and laid the Chinese Government under certain restraints and obligations, depriving it of its natural right to deal with these foreigners under its own laws and by its own courts. It has necessarily and justly assumed, at the same time, a certain responsibility for the conduct of its "nationals," and it is bound to prevent their abusing their privileged position by trying to influence the course of justice or in any other way bringing pressure to bear upon officials. It therefore directs its missionaries to act only through the diplomatic representatives of their own country. Such a policy seems only fair to China and worthy of a great Christian Power.

On the other hand, it is felt by many missionaries not only that this course of action delays justice by its lengthy process, and tends to defeat it by interposing so

many official links between the wrong and its redress, but also that it often ends in the embittering of local feeling and the alienation of the local magistrates. A case taken up in earnest by the foreign diplomatic representative at headquarters is apt to be settled in the way he desires simply to quiet him, the local magistrate removed or punished, and a fine imposed upon the district. It seems to be a triumph for the missionary as a foreigner; and the element of injustice which may be mingled with it deprives it of moral worth. To many missionaries it seems better to suffer in patience than to invoke the aid of their Consul or Minister, and so arouse the patriotic resentment of the Chinese. Insuperable and illegal obstacles may be put in the way of their buying land or leasing premises for mission work; they themselves may be hustled out of a city or village with insult or injury; or even when they have begun work, it may be boycotted or stopped by open hostility. Still it seems to them well to oppose this by patience and forbearance, by bending for the time to the storm, by renewing their attempts at the first opportunity, and by continually waiting on God to open the way for them and change the minds of their opponents.

The difficulty of finding a clear guiding principle is enhanced by the great discrepancy of the policy of different Missions with regard to intercourse between their missionaries and the official class as a whole. Some prefer their missionaries to keep aloof from the officials; others, to judge from utterances of veteran missionaries, favour an intercourse of civilities and the formation of friendly acquaintance between missionaries and officials. Where the latter course has been pursued, it is evident that the natural mode of action, when any serious wrong has been suffered, or is likely to be suffered, is to make a personal appeal to the official who can remedy it. A request for his kind attention to the matter, especially when no reference is made to the obnoxious treaty-rights of foreigners, is more likely to succeed and to have good effects on the whole, than an appeal to a distant

Consul or Minister, which may result in the punishment of officials and a whole town, not for wrong done, but for the offence of having irritated a formidable Foreign Power.

It is not surprising that highly respected veteran missionaries should differ from one another in their judgment as to the proper course of action. The right course may depend upon the personal relations between the missionary and the official concerned in any case. Perhaps also the nearness or distance of the place from the residence of a Consul is an important practical element.

In the case of a missionary coming to know of any secret or popular movement to pillage or massacre foreigners or Chinese Christians, every one would consider it his duty to warn the Chinese officials or the foreign Consul, whichever seemed most likely to secure the prompt undertaking of the necessary action to suppress the movement. This was done again and again in troublous times. It is not an interference with justice, but an aid to the administration, and the duty of every good citizen and law-abiding foreigner.

JUSTICE FOR CHINESE CHRISTIANS

Particularly difficult is the question of persecution and injustice suffered by Chinese Christians. They are put under the protection of the treaties. The European and American Governments have so far acknowledged their Christianity, or at least their principle of freedom for conscience, that a toleration clause for converts as well as for missionaries has been inserted in all the treaties. But it is the Chinese magistrates, and not the foreign Consuls, who are in the first instance responsible for the maintenance of this tolerance so far as Chinese subjects are concerned. And as things have been in China, little protection against injustice would, in many cases, have been afforded by the officials, where the people or even the baser part of them were hostile, unless the missionary,

with the prestige of a privileged foreigner, had come forward to take up the case of the converts personally. It would seem a necessary act of Christian brotherhood to do so. And yet it is the verdict of the great majority of experienced missionaries of the Reformed Churches that this is a course which should be adopted only in the most extreme cases, if even then. For they hold that the influence of the missionary over the official is really, in general, the dread of the Foreign Power somewhere at his back; and to use that irritates the reasonable self-respect of a Chinese as well as his unreasonable pride, his patriotism as well as his feeling of official dignity. Such a course also tends to separate the Chinese Christian from his fellow-countrymen, and to stigmatise the Christian Church as an instrument in the hand of Foreign Powers. No more deplorable thing could happen.

Further, it is a lamentable fact, that the protection which missionaries were able to extend and actually did extend to Chinese Christians led multitudes of unworthy persons to attach themselves to the Church, and thereafter to use the prestige of the foreigner to aid them in their lawsuits, to the miscarriage of justice and the discredit of the Church. Humiliating experience has led most missionaries to the conclusion that, even when their hearts are sore for the persecution of their Chinese brethren in the faith, they themselves must stand aside, and let the sufferers—when the trouble becomes unendurable—appeal for themselves to their own Chinese magistrates. A missionary, it is agreed, should not appear in the Hall of Justice, unless summoned as a witness. Above all, in ordinary lawsuits, where a Chinese Christian is one of the parties, it is most harmful for a missionary to appear as his backer, even though he may be convinced that his presence will help to secure a fair hearing and a just decision.

Most missionaries believe that by honouring the magistracy and submitting quietly in civil and criminal cases to their jurisdiction, the Chinese Christian Church

will in the end win respect and favour as an institution which promotes order and loyalty.

There are extreme cases, however, in which the dictates of humanity and of Christian brotherhood seem to demand that the missionary should use powers lawfully possessed by him, even to the extent of calling in the Consul to the aid of the oppressed. For though the administration of justice is in the hands of Chinese officials, still it is the duty of the Consul to see that the toleration promised by the treaties is observed. Even in such cases (and also in cases which concern his own work or himself personally), unless the circumstances demand immediate action to avoid a catastrophe, it is becoming a rule in many Missions that the individual agent must not approach either the Chinese officials or his own diplomatic agent directly, but lay the matter for consideration before the Head or the Local Board of his Mission.

The same considerations apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the action of Chinese pastors and catechists. It is very natural that they should stand by their own people in cases of oppression, and even in ordinary law cases, as against a heathen opponent. Yet there is the same danger of the name and reputation of the Church being enlisted and endangered in a doubtful case; and again, the influence of a Christian pastor over an official is ultimately the fear of the foreigner who seems to be the patron of the Church. Hence, some Missions have prohibited their native agents from using the name of the Church or Mission in connection with any law case; and even in the case of pastors of independent Churches, the whole weight of Mission influence discourages their interference in law cases.

In short, anything involving collision or interference with Chinese judicial or administrative officials is regarded by missionaries as a matter to be handled with the utmost care and not to be proceeded with unless the occasion is grave, the facts clear, and the ultimate effect, as far as can be judged on mature consideration, likely to advance the cause of Christ.

PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

There is a widespread desire on the part of Protestant missionaries publicly to dissociate themselves from the action taken by the Roman Catholic authorities in the matter of their political position. By an Imperial rescript Roman Catholic ecclesiastics obtained official rank. Bishops rank with Viceroys, and travel about with the insignia of their rank. Priests treat with magistrates as officials with officials. It follows that the civil officials find themselves hampered, and their dignity impaired, in any case where a Roman Catholic is concerned and (as he usually does) calls in his priest to his aid. The impression necessarily created is that the Christian Church is a political organisation, leaning on and working for Foreign Powers, disloyal and dangerous.

Protestant missionaries, to whom the same privilege was offered, declined to take official rank, feeling that it would put them in an altogether false relation both to the Chinese Government and to the Christian community. Their spiritual aim, their aloofness from the schemes of politicians, their desire for the welfare of China, and their respect for its Government, made them repudiate any proposal to make them political personages, and they ask nothing but the right to travel and settle freely in the country, and to conduct their spiritual and benevolent work quietly and in a manner accordant with the laws of the land.

To this important difference in the relations of Protestant, as compared with Roman Catholic Missions, to Government, publicity should be given. While full credit must be given to the Roman Catholic Church for its long history of brave mission work in China, its many martyrs, its contributions to scientific study, its multitudes of converts, it must be said that it has always worked in close alliance with political Powers, using them and being used by them. As Spain and Portugal in ancient days, so France in modern times has been the protector of Roman Catholicism in the East.

France won for its clergy the official rank mentioned above; and that, after all, is but the outward symbol of Rome's open claim to use the power of the State for the advancement of the Church.

The privilege referred to was withdrawn in 1908, but we have no evidence to show whether the withdrawal has been made effective throughout the Empire or not.

THE QUESTION OF COMPENSATION

When persecution has broken out in violent form, and there has been loss of property and life, should compensation be sought from the Chinese Government? This question has been fully answered by many representative missionaries. There are a few who think that full legal rights should be exacted from the Chinese Government, a few also, on the other hand, who hold that a Mission in China should never make any claim. The majority, however, occupy a middle position.

There is almost entire unanimity in the attitude taken towards compensation for loss of life. Martyr lives are things for which no compensation should be asked or even received by any Mission. Nor should the relatives of the deceased missionary be encouraged to ask for it, it being understood that the Mission concerned itself makes reasonable provision for the family dependent on him. Chinese Christians, having a different kind of claim upon the Chinese Government, may not fall under this rule; and no consensus of opinion can be affirmed as to their case.

Most missionaries take up a different position in respect of compensation for buildings, etc., destroyed, and other pecuniary losses. A money equivalent can be stated and is justly due. But should it be demanded? Some hold that it should, on the ground that, not treaty rights alone, but the very Chinese sense of fairness, make it advisable in the interests of order and justice. Others consider that it may be received if offered, but that it should not be demanded, for Christian Missions in China

should not stand upon their legal rights. But nearly all are agreed in saying that there are circumstances under which compensation should be declined or returned. The compensation may be made by an assessment, oppressive, corrupt, and irritating, upon the town or district, which enriches the officials and casts odium upon the Christian name. Or there may be other circumstances which make it a matter of Christian expediency to bear the loss.

In any case, it is agreed, nothing more than the bare equivalent for the damage should be taken,—nothing but what a fair-minded Chinese would himself recognise as just. Missions should have nothing whatever to do with sums levied as a *punitive* measure upon the Chinese.

In the case of private losses of missionaries and Chinese Christians, the question of compensation must be left to themselves, except where the Mission takes upon itself the duty of compensation and the right of applying, if found expedient, to the Government for private as well as Mission claims. Elsewhere the Missions can only ask their people to weigh the possible effect of patient endurance and forgiveness, against the possible effect of increasing lawlessness by the surrender of a just and legal claim.

The foregoing remarks do not, of course, apply to claims made by the Minister or Consul for wrongs done to the "nationals" under his protection, and the insult or injury to his country which is involved. Missionaries generally recognise that the diplomatic agents have distinct principles of action, and may even demand punitive measures. But they hold that Missions should not profit by them.

LEGAL DISABILITIES OF CHINESE CHRISTIANS

In the present stage of transition it is difficult, and perhaps not desirable, to define with precision the legal disabilities which still affect the position of Chinese Christians.

Though it does not clearly appear that the Government intends directly to discriminate against its Christian subjects in regard to (*a*) private rights, (*b*) admission on equal terms with others to Government Schools and Colleges, or recognition of educational attainments made in those founded by the Christian Missions, (*c*) equal admission to the exercise of the franchise, or (*d*) to honourable employment in Government service; yet the requirement that Christian students or other Christians must conform to certain rites and observances which infringe freedom of conscience, does in effect impose disabilities upon them, and so tends to deprive the State of the services of some of the best and most loyal of its subjects.

These are serious disabilities from the social, financial, educational, and political points of view, and, apart from any actual loss sustained by individual Christians, they tend to perpetuate the idea that Christians cannot be true citizens of the Empire, an idea harmful to the Church but ultimately more harmful to the Empire itself. They might well be removed by a liberal and enlightened Government, by giving to all classes of Christians—to students and candidates for office, as well as to private persons—complete liberty of conscience, and of action in regard to the rites referred to. Such benevolence and justice on the part of the Imperial Government would afford the strongest possible encouragement to the cultivation of loyalty and good character by all its Christian subjects.

Meantime the remedy suggested is simply steadfast adherence to Christian patience and loyalty with continual prayer to Almighty God. One or two correspondents have suggested diplomatic pressure, but the general view seems to be that missionaries should not be forward in stirring up the Ministers to press for the removal of the grievances of Chinese Christians, while quite frank in recognising them as grievances. The maintenance of a high standard of conduct among Chinese Christians, and a high standard of efficiency in mission schools, should of

itself open the eyes of the officials to the injustice they are perpetrating. At the same time, it seems advisable that representative missionary bodies, and the Chinese Christian community itself, should continue to use proper occasions for memorials to the Chinese Government, setting forth the true nature of the Christian faith, its teaching of loyalty to the throne and beneficence to the people, and asking that equal rights may be bestowed on all law-abiding subjects.

MISSIONARY INFLUENCE ON LEGISLATION, ADMINISTRATION, ETC.

Missions cannot be said to have directly affected legislation in China to a large extent. But missionaries have again and again been advisers both at the Imperial Court and to Viceroys of important provinces, and have been known to exercise great influence.

Mission schools have undoubtedly furnished the example and the model for the establishment and conduct of the modern schools of the Chinese Government. The work they have done both directly and as models can hardly be estimated. Missionaries also have served in Government institutions of various kinds at the request of the authorities.

China had an ancient civilisation, a cultivated language, a great literature, a busy printing-press, before any Christian missionary landed on its shores. The influence of the missionary upon the life of China has not been in the introduction of new things, but in the vivifying of the old by a new spirit.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

It would be impossible for men and women born and bred in the freedom and comparative justice of Christian lands to view complacently many of the social and political usages of China, or to do other than sympathise

with those who are moving in the direction of reform. And yet missionaries feel the need of caution in joining in, or even in publicly approving, such movements. Purity of administration in the courts they must hold up as an ideal; cruel and immoral practices in social life they must condemn. But certain considerations limit them, or render them exceedingly cautious in committing themselves to public speech or action in favour of political changes. In the first place, they are foreigners, and the history of China's relations with foreign countries has made all considerate foreigners careful lest they offend or weaken the Chinese Government. A stable central Government is a necessity for the peace of the country; and Chinese "reform" is sometimes revolutionary. Many of the reformers have confused ideas of what they would be at, and mingle wild dreams of the transformation of China with sober projects for the removal of open grievances. It is hard for a European or American to judge what political changes would be good for the country; and even with regard to social usages he is always in danger of condemning things because they are opposed to the ways of Western civilisation. The policy which seems to find favour with the wisest missionaries is to keep steadily before them their main work, the preaching of Jesus Christ, which, with the blessing of the Holy Spirit, will transform China through the change of the hearts of Chinese, to encourage, but also to steady and sober the reforming spirits they come in contact with, to keep clear of all party and faction, to love China and honour its Government, and to set, in personal and family life, a good example before Chinese Christians and non-Christians.

Resolutions of the Shanghai Conference

We cannot do better than conclude our Report by quoting the Resolutions on "The Missionary and Public Questions" passed at the Centenary Missionary Conference, held at Shanghai in 1907, omitting only one which

has to do with a matter of the Chinese official nomenclature for Christians.

I. RESOLVED :—That the Protestant Missionary Body desire to express their deep sense of obligation to the Chinese Government for the large measure of protection afforded to Christian missionaries and converts, and do hereby publicly record their grateful acknowledgment of the same.

II. RESOLVED :—That while the time has not come when all the protection to Christian converts provided in the treaties can safely be withdrawn, yet we trust that equal protection to Christian and non-Christian Chinese alike may be so given by the local Chinese authorities that any intervention of missionaries in such matters may speedily become wholly unnecessary. We therefore exhort all missionaries to urge upon Chinese Christians the duty of patience and forbearance under persecution for Christ's sake, and also to make every possible effort to settle matters privately, an appeal to the authorities being the last resort, and then, only after full and careful inquiry into the real facts of the case, so that the privileges secured by treaty to Chinese Christians may not be abused, or the purity of the Christian Church corrupted and its good name prejudiced.

III. RESOLVED :—That we recommend all missionaries to be vigilant, lest, in the present national awakening, the Christian Church should in any way be made use of for revolutionary ends, and lest Chinese Christians should, through ignorance, confusion of thought, or misdirected zeal, be led into acts of disloyalty against the Government.

IV. RESOLVED :—That we commend to all missionaries the China Missionary Alliance, organised in 1900, for the purpose of representing the missionary body in public matters of common interest, and that we urge the Alliance to keep its organisation in working order until the organisation of the National Council of Federation be effected, and so fulfil the purpose for which it was organised.

V. RESOLVED :—(*a*) That we congratulate the Chinese Government on the efforts they are now making in the direction of reform, and assure them of our hearty sympathy and prayer to God for their success.

(*b*) That we affirm that we, as Protestant missionaries, have no political aims of any kind either for ourselves or for our converts, that our mission is wholly moral and spiritual, and that we have no desire to interfere in any way with the functions of the Government ; that we teach and enjoin on all converts the duty of loyalty to the powers that be ; and that in fact there are no more loyal subjects of the Empire than the Chinese Christians.

INDIA

In the matter of Government, India presents a striking contrast with China, the only single mission land which can compare with it in population and importance. Here the missionary works under a European Government, protected, and to a certain extent encouraged in his work, able without offence to appeal to an impartial law, and even upon proper occasion to the Supreme Government itself. There are greater social obstacles than in China to be overcome in the progress of the Church, the Indian convert—at least the caste convert—sustaining persecution from friends and fellow-countrymen of a severe and bitter type. But there can be no doubt as to the wish of the Indian Government that the convert should have fair play. And no Government has acknowledged more freely the blessings which missionaries have brought to the people of the land.

Many and complex though the problems of the Indian mission field may be, it cannot truly be said that many vexatious questions arise in connection with the relations between Missions and Government. It is the practically unanimous testimony of missionaries of all Societies, representative of many nations, that under the Indian Government they have freedom and encouragement, and, in departments of their work for which the State acknowledges a certain responsibility of its own, considerable financial aid. Occasional covert hostility on the part of some Government servants is more than counterbalanced by the active friendship of others; and both hostility and friendship are limited by the policy of religious neutrality.

THE POLICY OF RELIGIOUS NEUTRALITY

The State deliberately holds itself aloof from the encouragement of any religious propaganda, and promises fair and impartial treatment to men of all faiths. Its officers are forbidden to use their official position for the encouragement of any particular religion. Considering that the ultimate control is in the hands of a country which is professedly Christian, and the actual administration is in the hands of men of the same faith, the principle of religious neutrality may seem to be a throwing away of advantage to which the faith of the ruling race is entitled, or even a denial of the right and duty of the Christian men who happen to be officials to advance and encourage the spread of that Gospel which they know to have been the richest blessing not only of themselves individually but of their nation. India's true prosperity is bound up with the progress of Christian faith and principle. How, then, can the State tie its own hands and those of its officers?

The vast majority of Indian missionaries approve of the principle of religious neutrality. Whatever temporary disadvantage may seem to accrue to Christianity from the restraints imposed on the official acts of Government and its officers is far more than compensated by the disentanglement of religion from politics, of the Christian Church from the British Government, of the universal claim of Christ from the temporary ascendancy of any nation. The Church of India will be purer and stronger because its members are not the favourites and protegés of the British Government; its warfare will end the sooner in real victory because its weapons are spiritual.

Complaints are made from time to time that "neutrality" tends to become a kind of "armed neutrality" with an unfriendly eye on Christian activity and conversion to the faith of Christ. Citations are made from speeches of men in high place encouraging Indian princes to remain in their religion; and acts of discrimination in favour of Hindus and Mohammedans are detailed.

Undoubtedly there is a tendency everywhere for Government officials to prize too highly the peaceful maintenance of existing order, and any disturbance of it is apt to be regarded as a nuisance. Even Christian Europeans do not always recognise the duty of giving Indian Christians their full and equal rights ; conversion and the extension of the native Christian community are always more or less disturbing to the social order, and it needs an impartial and strong official mind to deal with it absolutely fairly.

It ought, however, to be said here that, on the whole, the relations between officials, European and Indian, and missionaries, are harmonious and even friendly. The high character and noble work of the Civil Service are always recognised by missionaries ; and it is only a small minority of the members of the former who are more or less hostile to mission work, especially in its propagandist endeavours. Indeed, missionaries themselves have frequently occupied official positions as honorary magistrates, members and chairmen of Municipalities, members of Legislative Councils, etc., to the advantage of Government, and to the credit of their own Missions. They have received decorations for their services in famine and plague, have been appointed Vice-Chancellors of Universities, and their assistance in educational and benevolent work has been sought and acknowledged.

PREVENTION AND REDRESS OF INJURIES

As to the administration of justice, little complaint is made. The law itself is impartial, protecting men in the profession of their faith, and in the exercise of worship, punishing with considerable severity attempts to desecrate places used for worship, or to interfere with worshippers. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that Christians should sometimes suffer, more particularly in parts where there is no Christian official of rank. In no country is personal and social persecution more severe than in India ; and hostility to the convert may bias even the administration

of impartial laws. The Christian often meets obstacles, legal and illegal, in pursuing his claim to his personal rights. Amendment of the law may do something to improve his position; but in the main he must trust to that steadfast perseverance in well-doing which will in time put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.

Undoubtedly, both from the steady hostility of a section of the population, and from occasional violent acts of persecution, cases are constantly occurring in which an appeal for police protection, or for the punishment of evil-doers, or for compensation for injuries, seems the natural course. Should full advantage therefore be taken of the legal rights of missionaries and of Indian Christians? The Government being impartial, and in the hands of men who are disposed to make the law effective, the missionary usually has no hesitation in claiming his rights under the law, or in encouraging his converts to do the same. There is not the fear which exists in China, either that the Government will be irritated or the people unjustly taxed, to the ultimate detriment of the missionary's work. Just compensation for all damages done may commonly be insisted on, though Indian missionaries are as ready as Chinese missionaries to claim that one has "a right to waive one's rights," and that there are circumstances under which it is best both for missionaries and Indian Christians to endure injustice, and overcome evil with good. They do not forget that the progress of the Gospel overthrows ancient ways and disturbs domestic peace; and they are prepared for a certain amount of opposition, insult, and even injury. They are anxious to avoid action which would widen the breach between Indian Christians and their fellow-countrymen. Not until harm is likely to be done, by suffering wrong to be committed with impunity, do they, as a rule, appeal for aid to the police or the law.

Another matter which requires constant vigilance is the maintenance of the right of free public speech, so essential for the evangelising of India. Attempts

have occasionally been made on the part of the police to deprive missionaries of their rights in this respect, but hitherto unsuccessfully, where these attempts have been resisted in a proper manner.

It must be observed that missionaries do not claim this as a privilege for themselves, but as a right which all citizens possess, including Hindu and Mohammedan preachers; and further, that they do not contest the right of the Government (not the police) to restrict or regulate the exercise of public speech at times when public safety demands such action.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND MISSIONS

A wide area of activity, in which Missions find themselves necessarily in contact with the Government, is found in the educational, medical, industrial, and other philanthropic work of missionaries. It is impossible to draw the line between legitimate Church action and legitimate State action. Both are and must continue to be interested in the welfare of the people; and finding themselves working in the same field, at the same task, with the same methods, they have had to come to some kind of working arrangement. This has been found in the grant-in-aid system. Government, finding it impossible, with the funds at its disposal, to fulfil what it recognises as its duty to the people in the matter of education, etc., and finding voluntary workers in the same field devoting to it money and valuable services, aids them with grants whereby they can overtake such work more cheaply than Government could. They, on the one hand, submit to Government inspection, and such measure of control as may be needed to satisfy Government that its money is properly spent. Government, on the other hand, explicitly abstains from all interference with religious instruction.

Co-operation in philanthropic work is specially exemplified in what is now universally acknowledged as an important branch of missionary effort, *i.e.* the relief and care of the

unfortunate leper. In India the happiest understanding exists between the Mission to Lepers and the Government. There in all the Presidencies, and in at least three Native States, the Mission receives substantial grants from the several Governments towards the erection of the necessary buildings, and also towards the support and upkeep of the institutions. In one Presidency the Government has placed all its asylums under the management of the Mission to Lepers. Here by a give-and-take arrangement the Mission agrees to receive lepers sent in by Government and to observe neutrality, in so far that it will not force its religious teaching on any of the inmates, or offer any earthly inducements to them to become Christians, while at the same time not abating its prerogative to preach and teach Christian doctrine. The Government freely acknowledges that it is to its advantage to have these Christian institutions where it can send its lepers, and the Mission as freely acknowledges that the co-operation and help of the Government is of great advantage to it in its efforts to relieve and help the leper.

The fixing of a principle of distribution between Church and State of the functions of public instruction and other operations for the welfare of the people has exercised—and baffled—the wisdom of statesmen for many centuries. The line drawn has often been drawn sharply, but it has always again wavered; and to-day it is oscillating violently. The Indian grant-in-aid system is but a temporary expedient framed to suit the exigencies of a particular age in a particular country. It would be beyond the wit, as well as the scope, of the Conference to consider any final principle of arrangement. All that can be asked and answered is whether the present arrangement is helpful to mission work? And the detailed discussion must be left to another Commission than this.

Meanwhile, the general answer of missionaries is, that they are glad to co-operate with Government in this field where they have a common interest, that Government aid has helped them to extend their work, and that they have been left free in their religious teaching. Even where

they have been inclined to chafe under Government restriction, they have felt that the alternative was between Christian work under certain limitations, and Government work which is in principle non-religious, and may in effect become anti-religious. They have had no hesitation in accepting the former alternative.

There is no doubt, however, that at the present time Government control is growing, and is likely to grow more strict and exigent; and missionaries are awake to the necessity of preventing their institutions from being secularised. The "neutrality" system would lose its value in missionary eyes if it did not leave freedom for the Christian propaganda in Christian institutions.

It is possible also that the increased power which is now being granted to Indians in the shaping of legislation and control of Government may tend to restrict the aid which Missions receive from Government, even though that aid be fairly earned on a principle which would permit Hindus and Mohammedans to profit proportionately on their making proportionate exertions. Already the tendency has been noticed in recent educational changes, demanding greater expenditure as well as greater efficiency, to throw a larger share of the expenditure on the Mission school and college managers than they consider reasonable.

It must be noted, however, that neither the Government nor the Hindu and Mohammedan communities are satisfied with the working of the "neutrality" system in education. A spirit both of domestic and political insubordination has been growing among young men; and many attribute this to the absence of religious teaching in the schools and colleges, for, outside Mission institutions, there is almost none. How to supply this is a knotty question; and some of the remedies proposed would strike at the freedom of missionary managers within their own institutions. Missionaries would gladly see all young people educated in an atmosphere of religion; but they would resist to the utmost any scheme of compromise or comprehension which would derogate from

the absolute and unique claim of Christ, which they acknowledge and present in their teaching.

A watchful eye has to be kept upon the Text-book Committees, which authorise books for use in schools. A neutrality which would not permit Mission schools to use distinctively Christian books, would indeed "neutralise" Christian education there to an unwarrantable extent.

It is only fair to say that there are in India still a few missionaries who would fain see all Christian institutions conducted absolutely without Government aid, both because they wish to be free from State control and because they consider Christian Missions not justified in accepting grants paid from taxation levied upon Hindus and Mohammedans, as well as Christians.

THE FEUDATORY STATES

A point upon which there is divergence of opinion, and regarding which practical difficulties have occurred, is the duty of the Supreme Government in enforcing the rights of Missions in the Native States of India. It must be admitted, and it is not forgotten by every fair-minded missionary, that the right handling of this matter demands great tact and patience, and impartial consideration of many interests involved. The Native States, six hundred in number, range from great and ancient kingdoms down to petty estates. The *sanads* or treaties by which they came under the protection of Britain are varied in contents. But while they all recognise British suzerainty, they all equally protect the dignity of the ruling Prince. It is a settled point both of honour and of policy with the Supreme Government in India not to interfere with the internal affairs of Native States unless gross misgovernment necessitates it. And in the case of strong, dignified, and sensitive potentates, even diplomatic pressure is not to be resorted to on slight or frequent occasions. It would seem to be a safe principle that the rulers of

dependent States should afford to subjects of the Supreme Power—merchants or missionaries—the same privileges which the subjects of these States enjoy under the Supreme Government. Yet it is perhaps natural that these rulers and their subordinates should not rise to the same elevated practice of impartiality and neutrality. Hence missionaries, among others, find occasional difficulties put in the way of their entering Native States; and, when they have entered, find obstacles put in the way of their acquiring or leasing the necessary premises for the maintenance of the Mission. An appeal to the British Resident or Agent or to the Supreme Government raises the point of honour and policy spoken of; and missionaries in general find that it redounds to the credit of the Mission and to the ultimate success of their work if they can possess their souls in patience, and wait until they find an official of the vassal State who recognises the justice and moderation of their claims. An appeal to the strong arm of the Supreme Government always irritates, and often results in a success more disastrous than temporary defeat. The same remarks apply to the case of native Christians suffering for their faith. The unchecked persecution of Christians or their subjection to legal disabilities may be held to be not only a wrong in itself, but also an insult to the faith professed by the holders of the Supreme Power, and a violent departure from the neutrality which it practises and enjoins. It may and does form the subject of strong remonstrances to the Prince and officials of the State concerned. But still, these Christians are subjects of that Prince, and the missionary who teaches them to pray for and be loyal to that Prince is very reluctant to call on the Supreme Government for redress, lest its interference should derogate from the Prince's authority and embitter him against the work of Christian Missions. We have in those Native States conditions reminding us to some extent of those prevailing in China.

Cases have been cited by some of our correspondents in which British political officers have forbidden mission-

aries to enter Native States, a proceeding which could only be justified by a very extraordinary state of affairs. The British Government compels China to admit foreigners; how can it debar its subjects from entering a vassal State?

We believe the time has come when the Home Boards of Missions working in India should make a united effort to have this question of just treatment on the basis of religious neutrality examined and settled in the light of the experience of the last fifty years. An enquiry should be made into all important cases in which missionaries or Indian Christians have been denied impartial treatment at the hands of Local Governments or Native States, and a united, strong, and temperate representation made on the basis of this enquiry. At a time when a momentous change is coming over the character of the Indian Government, a full declaration of the policy of that Government both in the territory under its direct rule and in the Protected States seems to be demanded. And it might well be issued in answer to a weighty and well-considered memorial and petition on the subject.

The case of the frontier States of Nepal and Bhutan is different. They are not vassal States, however greatly they may be influenced by the Government of India. And in assenting to their policy of excluding Europeans, the Government of India is simply respecting treaties. But are missionaries to make no attempt to enter these closed lands? Have they no duty to a Supreme King, whose ambassadors they are? The answer is twofold. First, their attempts would be frustrated, would possibly end in bloodshed, and certainly in the discrediting of their Missions, as the cause of needless political danger. Second, the Government of India is, in the opinion of most Indian missionaries, so manifestly an agent of Divine Providence, that they will hesitate long and prayerfully before feeling themselves called to defy the restraints it places upon their activity. There is so much unoccupied land to be possessed in India itself

that a very special divine call would be needed to justify a spiritual raid across a forbidden frontier.

Still more strongly do these remarks apply to Tibet and to Afghanistan.

One remark, however, must be made. The Indian Government can only justify itself in restraining the movements of Europeans, be they traders or preachers, beyond its borders, on the ground of the probability of bloodshed or serious political complications. It has no right to be more restrictive than the peoples or Governments affected. Indeed, as a civilising power, it should be constantly exercising a moral pressure for the opening up of these lands. And Missionary Societies operating near the frontiers should continually be on the look out for opportunities of conciliating the peoples, from entering among whom they are debarred. It may be that occasionally the Government of India has erred in too readily assenting to the exclusion of Europeans, and the consequent arrest of the progress of the Gospel. This part of Government policy also should be made the subject of enquiry and representation with a view to a public declaration of its principles.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

For many years social reform—*e.g.* the relaxation of the caste system, the education of women, the improvement in the lot of widows, the transformation of the whole marriage system, etc.—has found in missionaries not only friends but champions; in becoming such, they have felt that they were not departing from their primary duty as preachers of the Gospel. The evils against which they have spoken are obstacles standing right in the way of the progress of the Gospel; they are part of the sin against which the law of God fulminates. And when from within the Indian community voices have been heard crying out against these evils, missionaries have welcomed them as the voices of allies. But from political movements missionaries have, as a

rule, held aloof. The chief political question has been the extent to which native Indians should participate in the Government of the country; and other questions have tended to provoke contests between European and Indian opinion. It cannot be said that political crises have arisen in which right has so manifestly been on one side that missionaries, as a body, have come forward to maintain it. Local grievances here and there have found redress by the help of missionaries; and the legislation and administration with regard to the Liquor Traffic has sustained general adverse criticism.

During the last few years, political feeling has become much embittered, extremists have openly revealed themselves, and diabolical crimes have been committed in the name of patriotism. It is needless to say that every form of influence possessed by missionaries has been exerted against evil deeds; and such excesses have tended to restrain them in the expression of sympathy even with political changes which they would consider wise as well as popular. Missionaries in India, as elsewhere, are sympathetic with all that is best in the national life of the people among whom they live, and believe that, in the Providence of God, India has a great place to take among the nations, and in the development of Christian thought and life. At the same time they recognise the present need of the strong arm and impartial policy of the British Government. While differences may exist among them as to the proper *rate* of change, they are on the whole agreed that a transfer of power to the natives of the soil should proceed *pari passu* with their advance in enlightenment and moral stability. But very few indeed consider it part of their duty to spend any part of their time and thought in propagating this idea. Their task lies outside politics, as the term is usually understood.

In the political movements of the last generation, Indian Christians have taken their share. And in doing so, they have incidentally helped to break down the partition walls which in India so lamentably sever men

of different races and religions. More than that, they have helped to remove the reproach so harmful to the progress of the Faith, that to become a Christian is to be denationalised, and to lose one's heritage in the national life. In political movements, Indian Christians have been recognised as a community sharing in the aspirations and hopes of their fellow-countrymen. And now they are a force on the side of lawful and constitutional political action, and an example of loyalty to a Government which they recognise as now ruling in India under God's Providence for the ultimate restoration of India to its place among the nations. No more loyal body exists than the Indian Christians of every Church.

MISSIONARY INFLUENCE ON LEGISLATION

Missionaries have undoubtedly had great influence on the shaping of legislation in India, especially on education and on such matters as the abolition of *suttee* and other cruel practices. In earlier days, when legislation depended more upon the principles personally entertained by the officials actually in authority, missionaries exercised considerable influence over them both by personal intercourse and by formal representations; and often leading men among the Directors of the East India Company were in very close touch with missionaries. With the growth of an educated and enlightened Indian community, more weight has come to be attached to "public opinion" (if such a term can properly be used in this connection), and *direct* missionary influence on legislation has probably declined. Indirectly, and through the very formation of a more enlightened public opinion, missionary influence is perhaps more powerful than ever, though it cannot be traced in particular laws.

In education, missionary institutions were pioneers in many directions, and have continued to influence (and to be influenced by) Government administration. Their existence in considerable numbers, and the value and importance of their work, shaped the policy of the

Directors of the Honourable East India Company, when in 1854 they first recognised their responsibility for the education of the country, and set up a system based very largely upon the Grant-in-Aid principle, with absolute religious neutrality. Educational Commissions of enquiry invariably contain at least one missionary member, and new legislation and even administrative regulations on education are shaped after full consideration of the interests and opinions of missionary educationists. At the same time, there can be little doubt that with the improvement of the machinery for mutual interchange of information and opinion, and for concerted action, missionary educationists in India could enormously increase their influence and provide against legislation which would imperil the extent and freedom of their work.

In India each community has its own marriage law. Missionaries are, of course, consulted as to any Christian Marriage Act. Complaints are made by many of them that divorce for just causes cannot be obtained by Indian Christians on account of the high expense of the legal processes involved. Without desiring to make divorce easy, they wish to avoid the evils almost necessarily involved in making lawful separation an impossibility mainly through lack of money. On this difficult and delicate question, however, no clear guiding principle has emerged.

Both in their own Conferences, and in conjunction with Indian leaders of opinion, missionaries have from time to time made representations and suggestions to Government as to legislation on the Liquor Traffic, the Social Evil, and other matters, with varying success. Their opinions are always well received and carefully considered, though not always permitted to exercise a prevailing influence. Here also organisation and unity would increase their power.

MISSION BOARDS AND CONFERENCES

Indian missionaries living in and near large centres have formed missionary Conferences for the discussion of

missionary topics and for joint action in matters affecting mission policy and the moral condition of the community. They have often presented memorials to the Local Governments on matters with which they were conversant, sometimes with considerable effect. In view of past experience, it can scarcely be doubted that if such Conferences were reorganised in a thoroughly representative way their pronouncements would have greater weight, and their deliberate representations to Government would receive even greater consideration than they have done in the past. If thoroughly organised and co-ordinated with one another, so as to utilise mission experience and focus missionary sentiment on any emergent matter of importance, their conjoint and separate action would have enormous influence both upon the Supreme and the Local Governments.

DUTCH EAST INDIES

(*Java, Sumatra, etc.*)

GENERAL RELATIONS OF MISSIONS TO GOVERNMENT

The relation of Missions to Government in the Dutch East Indies presents an interesting parallel to the conditions prevailing in British India. In both we have the policy of religious neutrality, the assistance of Missions in their philanthropic and civilising work, and the existence of excellent relations between Government officials and agents of Missions. In Netherlands India, however, there seems to be (1) larger financial assistance to mission schools, hospitals, dispensaries, agricultural development work, etc. Government contributes, for example, to the literary work of the Dutch Bible Society. It has even taken over the Christian congregations of a whole district and put them in charge of the clergy of the Government Establishment. (2) A greater amount of control over the settlement of missionaries in different districts. (3) Closer co-operation between missionaries and officials. These features are in large part due to the fact that the Government of the Netherlands has not wholly divested itself of the idea of its responsibility for the religious welfare of the people under its care ; and they have been emphasised in recent years by the appointment of a Missions Consul by the Missions to act as their representative with Government and to advise them in all matters of common interest (see below). The appointment of this mission official has made the policy of the Government towards Missions more definite, consistent, comprehensive, and favourable. Native

Christians also have been the subjects of legislation which has ensured to them a proper place in the community.

The Missions are well aware of the danger of losing part of the spiritual character of their work by accepting the financial support of Government; but since the conditions for acceptance are merely technical and do not affect the religious side of the work, they feel themselves free to receive the aid so freely given. It has resulted in the handing over of a very great amount of educational work to Christian Missions, and a great extension of Christian influence in every way.

In many parts of the islands the native chiefs are still powerful, and native Christians have often to suffer persecution for the sake of their religion. The missionaries do not invoke the help of Government against the chiefs, believing that if the position of native Christians is secured and improved by a Western Government in an unnatural way, the loss for the cause of Missions will be greater than the gain.

When, as occasionally has happened, mission property has been damaged or destroyed, the missionaries have refused to accept any compensation which was levied from the population by special fines.

THE MISSIONS CONSUL

This interesting and successful experiment must be more fully noticed. The various Dutch and other Missions working in Netherlands India felt the necessity of a common representation of their interests before the Government. The Home Boards of these Missions, therefore, instituted on 1st September 1906 the office of the Missions Consul, who resides at Batavia (the capital of Netherlands India and the residence of its Government). The Missions Consul has always to be ready to undertake the journeys necessary for studying local difficulties and questions. He has to advise the Mission Boards and missionaries in all cases regarding the relation of Missions and Government. The Government also can

ask his advice in all matters regarding the Mission work. In special cases the Home Mission Boards can also ask his help in difficulties that arise, which can often better be solved by somebody who studies them on the field than by the Boards residing so far off.

According to the testimony of an experienced missionary, "already one wonders how one ever got on without the Missions Consul. The Government expressed itself very pleased with the creation of this post; all manner of co-operation has already been experienced from that quarter. Formerly the complaint had been uttered that when the Government had any questions to settle with Roman Catholic Missions, it could always refer to the Bishop of Batavia, whereas with regard to the Protestant Missions it was always a problem to whom to appeal. This question has now been solved. We may mention in passing that the Consul exercises no authority over the missionaries. His title was purposely chosen with regard to this. The missionaries must consider him as the one who takes their interest to heart, not as one who controls their actions. Still, in special cases, the different Societies can of course grant him authority over their missionaries."

THE MOHAMMEDAN PROPAGANDA

The question of how to deal with the Mohammedan propaganda has troubled both the Government and the Missions. As religiously neutral the Government cannot suppress Mohammedan activity, and yet wherever Mohammedanism is active, it is politically active, and a source of uneasiness to non-Mohammedan Governments. Occasionally officials are found who favour Mohammedans, but most seem to consider that when Mission influences establish a barrier against the progress of Islam it is an aid to good government. Indeed, occasionally Government pressure on Mohammedan chiefs has been greater than the missionaries cared to avail themselves of. But it is found that even heathen chiefs have to be defended against the arrogance of Mohammedans.

Where this Mohammedan propaganda exists it is found necessary to insist more strictly upon the rights both of missionaries and of native Christians; for the heathen tribes have no comprehension of the motive of suffering without claiming justice. Too much submission to Mohammedan attacks seems to them mere weakness, and drives them into the arms of Islam as apparently the stronger power.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

The duty of the missionary, in view of the social aspirations of the people, becomes a complicated question where so much of the education of the people is in the hands of the Missions. We quote from one of the missionaries :—

"The social aspirations of the people must of course be supported by the Mission, but at the same time it must insist on the condition that these aspirations are according to the spirit of the Word of Christ. The hastening of the people towards social improvement, by which the inner development of the life of faith is hindered, is not to be encouraged, but our co-operation in the social elevation of the people must always be guided by considering first of all that which belongs to the Kingdom of God.

"A missionary will oppose all hasty movements, and also those which are bound to fail owing to the lack of staying power of an uneducated people. He must consider their organic connection with what already exists; he must follow the law of apperception in social and pedagogic relations.

"A peculiarly difficult question is that of the aspiration of the people after social and intellectual culture. How far should one give way to the demands of the people for European culture? As a general principle one must accept the necessity of making the intellectual level of a people's education correspond to its social position. As long as the majority of scholars in the schools become rice farmers, instruction which goes beyond elementary stages is not suitable. We must educate no working people to such an extent that they possess all sorts of European wisdom but can no longer dig. But in practice a Mission is often forced to go further than its principles allow. If, for instance, the Government gives way to the people and is prepared to give it a more advanced education than the Mission advocates, often there is nothing else to be done but to co-operate in this arrangement. It is right that the Mission should continue to be the chief spiritual leader of an uneducated people; it is then still in a position to lessen the evil effects of such advanced educational experiments.

"This question presents extraordinarily difficult problems. The whole school system of the Mission is affected, and in this matter the question of connection and agreement with the Government continues to be difficult. Good and experienced Governments are just those which rightly look upon themselves as the educators of the natives, but they often allow themselves to be guided by purely political or commercial interests, even when they themselves believe that they are only working for the good of the native.

"Above all things, the Mission must aim at acquiring a really thorough knowledge of all movements in the mind of the people, and must obtain a clear idea of the whole domestic, industrial, and social position of the people, so that then it may be able to pursue its course with regard to these difficult questions guided by the Spirit of God. These delicate problems demand a detailed study of the life of the people, so that one cannot sufficiently warn the home authorities against coming to doctrinaire conclusions."

It is the hope of the missionaries that with the Christianising of the people, the native laws, purified by the elimination of all that is immoral and unchristian, may form the law of the Christian community. The sympathetic attitude of the Government gives ground for this hope, which, if realised, will work powerfully for healthy social and national life.

With political aspirations, in the narrow sense of the term, the missionaries will have nothing to do.

MOHAMMEDAN LANDS

(*a*) PERSIA

Mission work in Persia is carried on under circumstances of extreme difficulty. The European missionary is under the protection of treaties as a citizen of his country, but not as a missionary, for there is no toleration of conversion from Islam. The convert finds himself without legal protection, subjected to persecution, and in danger even of his life. The consular authorities may demand justice for wrongs suffered by the missionaries personally, as robbery, etc., but have no legal power to help him against injury done to or obstacles put in the way of his work.

THE GOVERNMENT POLICY AS TO MISSIONS

Although there is a separate civil law in Persia, the *Shariat*, or canon law, based upon the Koran, is also operative. Conversion from Islam is punishable by death; and although this is not, as a matter of fact, legally enforced, the existence of the law encourages all manner of persecution, makes direct evangelising impossible, and obstructs the circulation of the Scriptures and Christian literature.

Oriental Governments do not always carry out laws to their logical issue, and missionaries have often enjoyed considerable freedom. One was for many years medical attendant to the Shah; and many of them have been on terms of intimacy and friendship with highly placed officials. As everywhere, much depends on the official concerned, and missionaries are usually careful to

cultivate the acquaintance and confidence of the officials of their town and district.

And again, much depends on the temper of the people. If a Mission has been allowed for many years to carry on its work in hospitals, schools, etc., it has often gained popular goodwill, and thereby weakened the demand for the strict enforcement of the law.

MISSION POLICY

It would be both futile and dishonourable to defy the limitations of the legal status, by accepting which alone missionaries are entitled to enter and reside in Persia. On the other hand, it would be futile and more than dishonourable to disown the duty of being witnesses for Christ. Missionaries in Persia then have a delicate as well as responsible task to discharge. They cannot but be always desiring to enlarge the freedom they enjoy, not by underhand practices, or by trying to secure diplomatic pressure, but by gaining the goodwill both of officials and of people; and by medical and educational work, by establishing orphanages, and caring for the destitute, they are gaining this goodwill. By scrupulous observance of the law of the land, by respect to constituted authority, by regard to the feelings and usages of the people, by approaching the Persian officials rather than the European diplomatic staff in cases of difficulty, by helping the helpless in time of trouble, they hope to remove prejudice and prepare the way for a larger freedom for themselves and for those who, through them, may believe in Christ. They are careful, when wronged, not to insist on their own treaty rights, unless by so doing they feel that they are advancing the cause of Christ; for the vindication of these rights may sometimes involve degradation of officials and oppressive fines on the people, causing the name of Christ to be blasphemed.

Missionaries in Persia feel keenly the difference between their own comparative security as Europeans,—security

guaranteed by treaties and maintained by the Ministers and Consuls, and the helplessness of the Persian convert, legally liable to death, and actually subject to all manner of persecution and hostility. The only way of partially protecting him seems to be to bring him into the missionary's own family, or at least to make him an employee of the Mission, a course which has its own disadvantages. So keenly has the difference been felt, that certain missionaries petitioned their Society to ask the Foreign Office to repudiate all responsibility for them, so that they might, like their converts, be dependent solely upon Divine protection. This course could not be taken. Even the least missionary of officials would never repudiate his fellow-countrymen.

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Ministers and Consuls have their own difficulties. Dealing with a Government like that of Persia, in a land where lawlessness and fanaticism create countless difficulties for Europeans who work there, they are apt to be impatient when missionaries get into any trouble with the Persian officials. As by the law of the land proselytising is forbidden, the diplomatic agents may be unable to support a missionary in any difficulty which arises from that cause; and may feel bound to use their authority over him to restrict him within his legal rights. Now, whatever self-restraint and caution missionaries may use, and however strictly they may confine their work to schools, hospitals, and other benevolent enterprises, they cannot conceal the claims of Christ; difficulties are bound to arise. The situation calls for no less tact and consideration on the part of the missionary than on the part of the official. Needless embarrassment should not be given to the representatives of the Christian Governments.

Considering the difficulties inherent in the situation, the relations between the agents of the Missions and those of their Governments seem to be good. Both classes

are advocates of freedom of conscience, and equally alive to the miserable condition of Persia. But diplomatists must act as guardians of the treaties, both when they operate in favour of and against their "nationals."

ATTITUDE TO REFORMS

It would be impossible for any European or American missionary to live in Persia without forming a very strong sympathy with the people, and a desire to see both social and political conditions ameliorated. With Persians of rank and enlightenment, they often speak freely of the open sores of the country; and probably their influence has been great in preparing the way for better things. But from public movements, and, above all, from political agitation they hold aloof. During the recent revolutionary times, the Shah was prayed for, as usual, in Christian churches; and missionary influence is on the side of peace and order.

(*b*) TURKEY

The situation in Turkey is exceedingly complicated. A Mohammedan Government, whose laws are based on the Koran, rules over a population of whom a large part are Christians, divided into nationalities, which are also separate Church communities, and so far have their own laws. Scattered here and there among them are small settlements of foreigners, citizens of the Great Powers of Europe and America, dwelling under the legal protection of "Capitulations" and the personal protection of their Consuls and Ambassadors, and even enjoying, in the chief ports, their own post offices. Working for the uplift of the whole Empire are found missionaries, mainly American, whose principal work has hitherto been the vitalising of the life of the ancient Eastern Churches, but who have also had an enormous influence, direct and indirect, upon Islam in Turkey.

THE EXTENT OF TOLERATION

Turkish Mohammedanism has never been absolutely intolerant. Since the very capture of Constantinople and final overthrow of the Greek Empire, the Christian communities have been tolerated and tribute-paying. And various edicts have been issued guaranteeing religious freedom and the protection of the law to all sects, including Protestants. But the right of a Mohammedan to become a Christian has never been explicitly conceded; and the authorities will not allow that it is even implicitly permitted. The convert from Islam takes his life in his hands. If public execution for apostasy is impossible, no limit can be put to the persecution which, privately or on false charges, he may have to endure. His only safety lies in flight.

The missionary, unless at a time of popular outbreak, is safe, under the protection of the Capitulations and the Consuls. And so, to a large extent, are the native Protestant communities formed from the Eastern Churches by reformers who were practically driven out. But mission work is hampered and harassed to an extraordinary degree by the suspicions of the authorities, by the necessity for official permission for erecting any building or publishing any book, or making a new move of almost any kind, and by the extent to which the hands of the local authorities are tied by having to obtain permission from Constantinople for the slightest concession.

MISSION POLICY

Absolute obedience to the laws of the land is the accepted mission policy, even though procrastination, corruption, and ill-will delay for many years the most trifling advances, and make an incredible draft upon the missionaries' patience.

On the other hand, missionaries in Turkey are tolerably unanimous in maintaining the need for claiming their treaty rights. For wrongs done of an illegal nature (if

they are of any importance) redress is usually sought through the Consul or Ambassador, generally with satisfactory results. Such intervention does not irritate the people, who generally have considerable regard for the missionaries; nor does it seem to annoy the officials, except the person against whose action protest is made. One missionary affirms that the officials rather feel it due to their dignity that the Consul should take the matter in hand; but most of them find that a direct appeal to the Turkish officials is more pleasing to the latter, and more quickly successful for themselves.

With every official of character, however, the missionaries seek to be on friendly terms. Many instances are cited of officials who began as openly or secretly hostile to the Missions, and who, on becoming better acquainted with the workers and the work, became friends and helpers. Indeed, the impression is given that with a change of the method and spirit of administration at Constantinople, mission work will have abundant open doors. It is the régime there which has stood in the way of progress all through the Empire.

One concession, which would carry a hundred others in its train, would be an unambiguous declaration of the right of every subject of the Empire to embrace whatever religion he chose. The recognition of the possibility and lawfulness of conversion from Islam would clear the way for the unimpeded use of preaching, teaching, and literature for evangelisation among the Moslems.

THE TREATMENT OF REFUGEES

Mission houses have been havens of refuge to people in distress in Turkey more frequently than in most parts of the world; and questions have arisen as to the circumstances under which it is right to exercise such protection. Turkish officials cannot enter the houses of foreigners without the presence of the Consul or other diplomatic agent; and consequently these houses are

real shelters for the time being. In what classes of cases should shelter be given?

It must be observed, in the first place, that the Capitulations were not intended to convey any right of asylum to any but the foreigners themselves, and, in the second place, that there is grave danger of the abuse of such protection in the case of political refugees. Of these things the missionaries are well aware, and have, as a rule, given shelter only in cases of religious persecution which threatened life, and in cases of women and children in danger of massacre during internal political disturbances. Criminals and plotters have not found a refuge in mission houses. Difficult cases have occurred in which "political" prosecution has been known to be an attempt at legalised murder and the claims of humanity have demanded the help of the missionary, not as a missionary but as a man. No definition can cover all the cases. Where Government itself becomes an instrument of violence and massacre, the ordinary principles governing the relations between Missions and Governments cannot be applied, because one of the related terms has ceased to carry its true meaning.

MISSION INFLUENCE

Missions in Turkey have, as we have said, devoted themselves largely to the revival of spiritual life, learning, and morality among the ancient Christian nationalities or Churches of the Empire; and their achievements among them, though world-famous, do not fall within the purview of this Conference. But both by direct intercourse with Moslems, and by the example of noble and striking works of beneficence before the eyes of Moslems, missionaries have affected very deeply the whole social and political life of the Empire.

Holding resolutely aloof from political movements, and not slow to denounce the madness of revolutionaries, they have nevertheless in themselves and in their work manifested the value of free institutions, and set ideals

before the peoples of Turkey, which have had a great share in recent changes. But there is no more difficult problem in the political world than the problem of Turkey, and even missionaries whose experience has given them a close insight into the character of the people and the methods of administration, feel themselves unable to predict, far more to engage in, the course of political evolution.

THE RECENT REVOLUTION

The general anticipation of missionaries in Turkey is that an era of toleration and comparative freedom is beginning. The spirit of administration has changed, and the men in power seem sincere in their endeavours to establish a tolerant and equitable rule. But it is not yet time to speak confidently or to imagine that mission difficulties with Government are a thing only of the past. A missionary of great experience, and highly respected by all classes, writes :—

"In my opinion the young Turks who control the present Government are sincere in their determination to give equal rights to the Christians, and to put an end to religious persecutions of all kinds, but they are also very sensitive about foreign intervention in their affairs, and aim first of all to revive the power and restore the independence of the Turkish Empire. Missionaries should respect this feeling, and avoid, as far as possible, the appearances of distrusting the goodwill and liberal spirit of the Government."

NORTHERN AFRICA

In view of the limitations of our space, it would be highly advantageous if we could find some principle of arrangement which would enable us to deal with the African States and Dependencies in groups. But so various are the conditions, even as between different dominions of one Power, that the grouping would be highly artificial. We must continue to follow, in the main, the line of geographical sequence; and we shall treat, in the first place, of the conditions in the Northern part of the Continent. Unfortunately, our materials are deficient. For the countries on the Mediterranean coast we are unable to present a report, except in the case of Egypt; and many other regions must be left unnoticed.

(*a*) EGYPT

In Egypt the position taken up by the British Government since 1883 has involved new and difficult problems as to its relation as a Christian Government to the religion of a mixed Moslem and Christian people under its control, and incidentally to Missionary Societies at work in the land. The case is especially worthy of study.

It cannot, of course, be expected that so anomalous a case can be judged by normal standards. Lord Cromer has said that "by accident rather than by design, the Englishman was called upon to rule (over the Egyptians) without having the appearance of ruling. . . . He came not as a conqueror, but in the familiar garb of a saviour of society. . . . He would not annex Egypt, but he would do as much good to the country as if he had annexed it.

He would not interfere with the liberty of action of the Khedivial Government, but in practice he would insist on the Khedive and the Egyptian Ministers conforming to his views.

"In a word, he would act with all the practical common sense, the scorn of theory, and the total absence of any fixed plan based on logical reasoning, which are the distinguishing features of his race" (*Modern Egypt*, ii. 123–125, 126).

While the context whence these sentences are quoted would prevent the use of them as an official statement of the situation, yet they are of almost equal value to such a statement. They indicate the personal view of the chief administrator of the system. Hence the importance of these further utterances—"The Englishman . . . will strive . . . to attain to a high degree of eminently Christian civilisation; that is to say, although he will in his official capacity discard any attempt to proselytise, he will endeavour to inculcate a distinctly Christian code of morality as the basis for relations between man and man" (p. 132). The reform that has been accomplished is to be permanent. "We have dealt a blow to the forces of reaction in Egypt from which they can never recover, and from which, if England does her duty . . . they will never have a chance of recovering" (p. 559).

On the other hand, over against this picture of permanent stability of the reforms for which Britain works, must be set the constant view of the administrator that Egyptian autonomy, not annexation, is the most desirable ultimate goal, though two or three generations may need to pass before it is even open to consideration.

So far for principles of a very elastic order. How do things work in practice?

Taking Lord Cromer himself as first witness, there are grave difficulties observed. "The Englishman will do his best . . ." as an administrator, that is. "He will scrupulously abstain from interference in religious matters. He will be eager to explain that proselytism forms no part of . . . his political programme. He will

look the other way when greedy sheikhs swallow up the endowments left by pious Moslems for charitable purposes. His Western mind may, indeed, revolt at the misappropriation of funds, but he would rather let these things be than incur the charge of tampering with any quasi-religious institution. For similar reasons, he will abstain from laying his reforming hand on the iniquities of the Kadi's courts. . . . He will scrupulously respect all Moslem observances. He will generally, amidst some twinges of his Sabbatarian conscience, observe Friday as a holiday, and perform the work of the Egyptian Government on Sunday" (pp. 141, 142).

". . . He will, when an officer of the army, take part in Moslem religious ceremonies, fire salutes at religious festivals. . . . And when he has done all these things, and many more of a like nature, they will only avail him so far that they may perhaps tend to obviate any active eruption of the volcano of intolerance. They will acquire for him a grudging acknowledgment that he is content to let well alone, and that he does not endeavour to evangelise at the point of the bayonet" (p. 143).

This means the rule of a Moslem Government, that of the Khedive, controlled by a British administrator who can, when he so wills, insist that the Government shall follow his view. His view in general is that Christian morality will provide the basis of the relations between man and man, but that "common sense" leads to a tender care for Moslem susceptibilities wheresoever even quasi religious institutions may seem to be concerned. And ultimate permanence is to lie with the Government, now Moslem, though it will not be allowed to revert to its former evil ways.

The missionary, under such conditions, cannot at present hope for great things. He is tolerated. He is allowed, for ordinary circumspect methods of work, reasonable freedom; though careful watch will be kept lest his methods tend to create disturbance; *e.g.*, nothing like bazaar preaching will be allowed. Conversions are possible, and though the converts may suffer severe

private wrongs, they are not to be regarded as breakers of the law. Schools and Medical Missions may be carried on, but they get no support from the Government, which has its own extensive education system, but can find, as yet, no place in it for recognition of Mission Schools.

But the Missions and their congregations are not the only, nor the chief, Christian communities living under this régime. They stand side by side with a more numerous ancient native Church, the Copts. They are in many ways open to the same treatment as the Copts receive. Hence the need to consider here the situation of the Copts in Egypt.

It has been in the past only too natural for the Christian Copts to be a despised and subject people in the eyes of the Moslems. Good positions, military or civil, have been closed to them ; and even yet the day of equal treatment in these respects has hardly dawned. If the plea of incapacity on the part of the Copts holds in some measure against the charge of unequal treatment, then the question of education is raised.

The Government system of education is much in favour of Islam. Till very lately there has been the indefensible anomaly of Government schools, with a monopoly of Government money, in which the Koran was officially taught, Christian pupils being allowed, not to have any Christian teaching, but only to sit by and do secular work while the Koran was taught. As said above, no minimum of Government aid could be secured for any schools, mission or other, in which the Christian children could be taught their own religion. Since 1907 Christian teaching has been permitted in the Government schools : that is to say, the right of entry has been granted to Christian teachers, provided they are paid by the Church. But the injustice remains that Government money, which is largely provided by the Christians of the country, should only be expended in the payment of Mohammedan sheikhs who teach the Koran to Mohammedan boys, while no grant whatsoever is allowed for the payment

of Christian teachers for Christian boys. This system, it may be noted, is quite different from the Indian system, where the purely Government schools are absolutely secular, and other schools are aided on the grounds of efficiency and public service, without enquiry into the religious teaching, if any, given therein.

Serious complaint, too, is made on behalf of the Christians, in regard to Sunday observance. It has to be admitted that the system adopted puts a real hindrance in the way of acceptance by the most suitable people of Government posts, in schools particularly. If they are offered to native or foreign Christians, those who accept must be ready to work on Sundays. It is further urged that there was no need to make plans involving these disabilities. The Moslem might work without offending his conscience on the Friday, if Sunday were made the day of rest instead. His religion has nothing corresponding to the Fourth Commandment. The effort to conciliate may also overreach itself, and win the contempt rather than the respect of Mohammedans.

The administrator has seen that his course might have been made a simpler one if Egypt could have been placed in the same relation as, say, India to the British Government. The same holds good for the missionary. But, if that is not now within the sphere of practical politics, there is a grave problem remaining. For it cannot reasonably be held that the present attitude of the Government to Christianity and to Missions is one that can be retained through the coming years. If Egypt, with already a large Christian population, is to give a reasonably fair field to Christian enterprise, and is to see developed in the national life "a distinctly Christian code of morality as the basis of relations between man and man," more equal treatment must be given to the Christians.

It should be added that missionaries have found most British officials courteous and kind, and many of them most appreciative of the motives and the value of the work of the Missions.

(*b*) THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

In the Egyptian Sudan the position is no better than in Egypt proper. It is not so good. The dual nature of the Government repeats itself, and the administration follows much the same lines.

In addition, two other matters affecting Missions come into prominence.

The first is the restriction placed upon the access of the missionary to the Moslem population. On the plea that there is danger from Moslem fanaticism, if the missionary be allowed to proselytise, he has been severely repressed, even for a time excluded, and subsequently only allowed in the most guarded and so far as possible indirect ways to commend his religion to the Moslems. No public preaching, of course, no overt seeking of enquirers so long as that can be avoided, a little medical work, and a little educational work—among girls, with the condition that every parent of a Moslem pupil must be told that the school is one where Christian teaching is given, and the severe provision that, if he demands it, his girl may be exempt from that part of the teaching. It is truly astonishing that with such restrictions, hard to justify at the best, the missionaries have been able to do as much as they have. The Moslems value what the missionaries offer, and use it to some extent. It may well be thought that the time for the Government to claim the right to such severe restriction is past, if indeed it was ever justifiable.

The second matter is that in the southern, that is the pagan, regions of the Sudan, to which the Government has long and urgently invited the missionaries, it has, no doubt with the best intentions, delimited the areas of the several Missions, assigning one large tract to the American Presbyterians, another to the Church Missionary Society, and a third to Roman Catholics. In this matter also it would seem that the Government are acting upon lines that are difficult to justify, save in very exceptional

and transitory circumstances; and it should be well recognised that it is in no way the wish of the Missions that their boundaries should be settled by Government authority.

It must not be supposed that missionaries, as a rule, claim unlimited freedom of speech and movement, or that they do not recognise the need of careful procedure in opening up work in the Sudan or in any place where anti-Christian fanaticism may easily be stirred up. Most of them would approve of the prohibition of "free lance" preachers entering the Sudan. But considering that there are in Egypt veteran missionaries of well-known Societies, of whose character and work the Government is cognisant, it is not too much to expect that such men, after consultation with responsible Government officials, should be permitted with a fairly free hand to organise work in the Sudan. And the claim that Christianity should be placed on an equal footing with Islam has special force in any country where British power predominates, and it is one which they conceive it their duty to continue to press by every proper means upon the British Government.

(*c*) ABYSSINIA

A Swedish Mission at present maintains a precarious footing at Adis Abeba, the capital of Abyssinia. The head of the Abyssinian Church and the clergy are opposed to it, but the protection of the late Emperor Menelik has hitherto sheltered it. The favour or caprice of the Emperor is, however, not a thing to depend upon, and the Mission looks to the Legations to secure for it a measure of security in carrying on its work. How far, in the circumstances of the country, this hope is likely to be realised, it is impossible to predict. The representative of the Mission reports that the officials at the British Legation have shown him every kindness and given him every help possible; though the same gentleman com-

plains about obstacles previously put in the way of the Mission's advance into Jubaland from Kismayu. He is an advocate of missionaries using their full rights in such a country, as submission to injustice and oppression is merely looked upon as an invitation to further insults and injuries.

(*d*) NORTHERN NIGERIA

In Northern Nigeria there is again a difficult problem. The British Government uses and controls native Moslem Emirs. It does not, however, seem that there need be the same situation as in Egypt. A Protectorate has been frankly proclaimed. The Government presumably is able, as far as it thinks well, to prevent anything undesirable in the native rule; except, indeed, so far as undertakings have been given from time to time in the course of annexation and settlement. Some such understandings were, no doubt, natural, and the case for the Government seems sometimes so stated as to imply that here also, almost to the extent seen in Egypt, the susceptibilities of the Moslem must be carefully respected. The Moslems have been, and are to be, assured that the Government has no intention of proselytising. This is well and good. No one would suggest, on behalf of Missions, that there should be official interference, but there are other grounds upon which the balance should be adjusted. It is hard to see where the line is drawn between, on the one hand, a clear and faithful undertaking that the Government shall not itself interfere with the religion of its Moslem subjects, and, on the other hand, a practical determination to prevent the access to those subjects, of Christians who believe that they have a duty to go, and a blessing to bring with them. That particular places at particular times should be looked upon as in danger from fanaticism if rashly approached is defensible. But a general view that all missionaries are likely to make trouble among all considerable Moslem populations would be indefensible and an anachronism.

A few years ago the policy seems to have been one of watchfulness against danger of excitement, but a fair field for discreet and responsible Missions.

Sir F. Lugard in his Report to Parliament presented in January 1907, wrote as follows :—

" The Hausa Mission, hitherto stationed in the Ghirku district, forty miles south of Zaria, transferred its headquarters to the latter city in March 1905, with my consent, on the invitation of the Emir, and they have it in contemplation to open a Mission next year at Kano, with the consent of the Emir and chiefs, and also perhaps at Kontagora, where the Emir seems quite anxious for them to come."

At that time " the consent of the Emir and chiefs " seems to have been interpreted to mean that a responsible missionary might visit a place, and by cautious and sensible methods make himself acceptable on his merits, and so gain his footing. More recently, while every trader, of whatever character or influence, might go as a presumably welcome guest and gain his footing, the missionary, however cautious, has been told he must not go. A High Commissioner has issued instructions that the missionary must wait till a British Resident in such and such a city and an Emir to whom the case has been put by the Resident, " consent " to his coming. Meanwhile, he is rigidly excluded and given no opportunity whatever to make himself acceptable. No missionary is, *e.g.*, at present allowed to try to gain a footing in Kano or Kontagora, though progress in rail construction and in other matters has made the danger of excitement far less than in 1907. The Missions do not consider this defensible.

It has been publicly stated that the course recently followed has been adopted after the example of the Government in the Egyptian Sudan. Even there it is a course hard to justify, and in Northern Nigeria it is indefensible.

In purely pagan districts Missions have a comparatively free hand. And in matters where Islam is not concerned, the Government has shown itself reasonable

and considerate, as, *e.g.*, in making marriage licences and procedure a simple and clear affair.

The missionaries' claim is that, after conference with responsible Government officials, Missions of known character should be permitted to extend their work to all centres of population gradually and circumspectly. They are quite alive to the need of caution, tact, and conciliation, and have no desire to embarrass Government. But they claim that Government also should admit their right to propagate their faith, and be willing to consult with them how their advance may be made as quietly as possible (as was indeed the case under a former High Commissioner). They protest also against anything which serves to identify British State policy with the predominance of Islam, considering it to be a danger not only to the cause of Christian Missions, but ultimately to the very Government which practises it.

Missionaries have often made themselves most useful to Government in this region, not only by their linguistic work, but by their influence among the people and their knowledge of what is being said and done among them. They have helped to enforce the anti-slavery laws, to check oppressive native rulers and Government officials, to make the taxation equitable and tolerable, and in general to interpret the really beneficent intentions of Government to the ignorant and suspicious natives. They have instilled a spirit of loyalty into their converts, and regard their work as a buttress to the administration. With officials they usually are, and always desire to be, on the best terms. And they have no hesitation in claiming, if necessary, the protection of the law for themselves and for the Christian community.

(*e*) SOUTHERN NIGERIA

We find here a different condition of things in the relations between the Government and the Missions, largely due to the fact that missionaries were working

in parts of the country long before the assumption of sovereignty by the British Government. Not only had a Christian Church been founded, but a profound religious and social influence had been exercised on the heathen tribes. The administration has recognised and been thankful for accomplished facts, while the missionaries have gladly seen the whole region, including great districts untouched by them, brought under a humane, enlightened, and powerful administration.

Difficulties have occurred, particularly with regard to the marriage laws; but, though the situation is exceedingly complicated, it is hoped that a solution will be found. Education, until recently, was necessarily in the hands of the Missions; and the Government, from its establishment, was friendly to their work. It is establishing its own schools, but not in stations where Missions have planted or are ready to plant schools. The majority of mission schools are under Government inspection, and receive substantial grants-in-aid. And a missionary Institute for the Industrial and Higher Educational Training of native youths has been utilised and subsidised by the Government, which has preferred this mode of co-operation to starting an Institute of its own.

Government assumes a certain control over the planting of mission stations, in part to obviate denominational and educational friction, but mainly to prevent any dangerous movement of Missions into unsettled districts, which might lead to loss of life and consequent punitive expeditions. The Missions approve of the policy of separate areas, but where difficulties between themselves arise, prefer to settle them by friendly conference rather than by an appeal to Government.

One representative missionary pleads strongly for closer personal relations between missionaries and officials, believing that thereby the officials themselves will be benefited and helped to maintain a standard of Christian living which will impress the native community and particularly the native Church.

Among hindrances to mission work are mentioned the

reliance of Government for the major part of its revenue on the import of liquor, a policy bad from the point of view of civilisation as well as of religion.

In addition to the Europeans, there are a great many native races represented in Southern Nigeria all jealous of one another; and there is among them all, but especially among the more highly educated, a desire for fuller recognition of their social right as men. While sympathising with this desire, the missionaries cannot but regard the educational and moral advance of each generation as the only way of uplift. So also, the Government policy of gradual emancipation of the domestic slave-born meets the general approval of the missionaries.

On the whole, then, the relations between the Missions and Government are excellent, unvexed by the Mohammedan question which is the crux of the Sudan Governments, and made harmonious by the fact that, before the advent of British rule, the Missions had already accomplished a large part of the civilising work of Government through a great part of the country.

(*f*) GERMAN WEST AFRICA

(*Togo and the Kameruns*)

In these regions the Missions have had the difficulties which inevitably arise when work is undertaken among a heathen population having its own chiefs and yet subject to a European Colonial Government. They are patiently overcoming these difficulties and are on good terms with the Government.

Both they and their adherents have often suffered injury from the heathen; and a principle laid down by a representative missionary is that redress may be sought from native or European authorities in cases where even the native sense of justice is aroused; otherwise it is advisable for a missionary to make as little appeal to the civil authorities as possible. Quiet forbearance is a new

phenomenon for their heathen neighbours, and one which impresses them. Peaceable negotiations with the native authorities have often resulted in the Christians being protected. There is a native sense of justice which ought to be respected and may be appealed to.

Missionaries did great service both to the people and to the Government, by intervening when the native population ceded large tracts of land to companies to their own disadvantage. Government redressed the main grievances, and has prohibited the selling of land to Europeans without notification to the Government—a measure highly valued by the natives. Missionary linguistic and geographical work has been of great service to Government; and both by example and precept they have made Government regulations effective.

In North Togo there have been signs of the Mohammedan propaganda, though it has not reached formidable dimensions. But the German Government itself has barred the way for missionary work there by declaring certain districts forbidden territory, on the ground that several tribes are not yet to be trusted, and that Government could not guarantee the safety of the missionaries until a railway had been constructed into the Hinterland. With some uneasiness the missionaries are hoping for the speedy construction of this railway to enable them to develop their work.

On the whole, the relations between the Government and the Missions are satisfactory. The German Missions deal with the Government through their President. One correspondent mentions the interesting fact that in the Kameruns the Missions are represented in the governing Council.

MID AFRICA

(*a*) BELGIAN CONGO

The relations of Missions to Government in the Belgian Congo (known until recently as the Congo Free State) demand special attention. It is a country in which mission work has actually the encouragement and guarantee of the great Powers of Europe, and yet during the last few years Protestant Missions have met with treatment at the hands of the Government which can only be called hostile. That treatment has undoubtedly arisen from the position which the missionaries, individually and collectively, have taken up with regard to the dealings of the Government with the natives of the country, particularly the abominable cruelties connected with the collection of rubber. These outrages have been observed, denounced, and published by missionaries (chiefly Protestant); and in consequence the Government seeks as far as possible to circumscribe their influence in stations already planted, and to prevent their opening up new stations.

The case is so flagrant, and at the same time so important, that minor questions may be set aside, and the general relation between the Government and Missions considered as it has historically arisen.

HISTORY OF THE CONGO FREE STATE

The Congo Free State came into existence in the year 1885 as "a sort of international Colony," having the King of the Belgians at its head, with the sanction and under the protection and guarantee of the Great Powers

of Europe. It grew out of an International African Association, with the same King as its President, which had already carried on exploring and pioneering work on the Upper Congo, and had acquired, by treaties with native chiefs, the suzerainty over great regions, which were transferred to the new State. Missions, Protestant and Roman Catholic, had been independently established at many stations. And none interested in the Congo rejoiced more than the missionaries at the establishment of a European Government, aiming at the improvement of the condition of the people, the abolition of slavery and evil practices, and pledged to further and encourage the beneficent work of Christian Missions.

A quotation from the General Act signed at the Berlin Conference in 1885 will indicate plainly the grounds upon which missionaries hailed the new Government as a godsend, and prepared to co-operate with it in the development of the Congo region.

ARTICLE VI.

"*Provisions relative to the Protection of the Natives, to Missionaries, and Travellers, and to Religious Liberty.*

"All the Powers exercising sovereign rights, or having influence in the said territories, undertake to watch over the preservation of the native races, and the amelioration of the moral and material conditions of their existence, and to co-operate in the suppression of slavery, and above all of the slave trade. They will protect and encourage, without distinction of Nationality or Creed, all institutions and enterprises, religious, scientific, or charitable, established and organised for these objects or tending to educate the natives, and lead them to understand and appreciate the advantages of civilisation.

"Christian missionaries, men of science, explorers and their escorts and collections to be equally the object of special protection.

"Liberty of conscience and religious toleration are expressly guaranteed to the Natives as well as to the inhabitants and foreigners.

"The free and public exercise of every creed, the right to erect religious buildings and to organise Missions belonging to every creed, shall be subject to no restriction or impediment whatsoever."

As indicating the kind of *agreement* upon which the Powers sanctioned the elevation of the International

Association into a Free State, we quote from the Convention between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and the International Association of the Congo, Berlin, December 16, 1884.[1]

"British subjects shall at all times have the right to reside and settle in the territories which are or shall be under the government of the Association. They shall enjoy the same protection as subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation in all matters which affect their persons and their goods, the free exercise of their religion, and the rights of navigation, commerce, and industry. Especially shall they have the right to buy, sell, lease, and let lands, buildings, mines, and forests within the said territories, to found houses of business and to engage in commerce and coasting trade therein under the British flag.

"The Association undertakes to accord no advantage, however trifling, to the subjects of another nation, unless such advantage is immediately extended to British subjects."

Not only are these extracts clear (if words mean anything), but King Leopold repeatedly declared that he took a warm interest in all efforts for the well-being of the natives, and that he appreciated the work of missionaries.

Long after abuses had begun to appear, the missionaries clung to the belief that they were the acts of ignorant and incompetent officials, and would be stopped when the facts came to be known to the directing authorities in Belgium, King Leopold at their head. Private representations were made, but no result followed. More formal complaints were laid before the authorities; nothing came of them but empty promises and, naturally enough, a growing dislike to the missionaries who had dared to protest against the crimes committed in the name of humanity and civilisation. At last, the truth in its horrible detail had to be put, and was put (not by missionaries only), before the Christian public of Europe and America; and a storm of indignation began to gather round the administration of the Congo Free State, and round King Leopold himself, who could no

[1] Similar conventions were entered into by the International Association with the other Great Powers, including the United States of America.

longer be considered guiltless of the crimes committed by his officers, largely to his private profit.

At length, in 1904, the King of the Belgians appointed a Commission of Enquiry, which, while endeavouring to make the best of things, was compelled to corroborate the main charges which had been made against the officials of the State. Its Report, however, produced no real change in the régime; and fresh evidence of continued horrors compelled some, at least, of the Great Powers to bring pressure to bear on the Belgian Government, which had almost inevitably come to assume the position of backer and guarantor of the Free State. In 1908 the Belgian Government took over the country, which has, therefore, become Belgian Congo, with whatever guarantees of humanity and justice there are in the rule of a democratic European State. But it is to be noted that, in the absence of adequate guarantees of reform, the annexation has not yet been recognised by all the Powers.

MISRULE AND MISSIONARY PROTESTS

However desirous we may be to limit the scope of this Report, it would manifestly be impossible to explain the strained relations between the Missions and the Congo Government without indicating the grounds upon which the Missions were compelled to take up an attitude of condemnation of the administration of the Free State. Missionaries have no interest in opposing Governments. Elsewhere it has been noted how universally they inculcate the duty of loyalty and recognise the Civil Government as an instrument of God. Any tolerable Government, maintaining order and doing something to elevate the people under it, is a help, and a safeguard, and a co-ordinate agent with the Missions. And in regions far from civilisation and the security of a free press, it would be an act of consummate folly if missionaries were to rouse the ill-will of the officials by openly condemning their methods, unless these methods were such as to

make it a sin to keep silent. Such has been the case on the Congo; and if the missionaries there are in difficulties with the Government, it is because they, who began as eulogists and in some cases as agents for the Government, have been compelled, first, silently to disapprove, and later, openly to condemn, the whole attitude of the officials to the native races. It has been an unpleasant, a difficult, and sometimes a dangerous task; and it has cramped, for the present, the development of the Protestant Missions. But it was a duty, and had to be done.

The establishment of monopolies and the extinction of the free trade guaranteed by the Berlin Treaty did not call for missionary protests. Further, a certain amount of irregularity, licence, and even crime was to be expected (however much it might be deplored), when 2000 untrained Europeans, with the aid of armed savages, had to establish some kind of order over an area as vast as all Continental Europe, excluding Russia. The first great crime (for it can be considered nothing else) was the appropriation to the State of the whole country, excepting the small holdings actually cultivated by the people. It made itself absolute proprietor of the soil. A stroke of the pen swept away all communal or tribal rights which from time immemorial had been enjoyed by the people in forests and uncultivated lands. Then came the demand for oppressive taxes, to be paid in rubber, etc., brought in from the forests which once were their own; forced labour; compulsory purchases at Government stores to be paid for in rubber, the amount being arbitrarily fixed by the agent of the Government, whose emoluments depended mainly on the amount of rubber he could get collected. The burden became intolerable; and then came the worst. For failure to bring in the required amount, punishment was inflicted by letting loose on the offending villages bands of savages, sometimes cannibals, armed with rifles. Mutilation, murder, rape, and unutterable outrages were inflicted on the people, often within the knowledge of European officials. The

mass of evidence, supplied not only by missionaries, but by British and American Consuls, traders, travellers, and even by the better sort of officials, proves beyond a doubt that one of the most widespread and horrible series of atrocities which have stained the history of humanity has been perpetrated on the peoples of the Congo during the last quarter of a century. And though a slight improvement has followed upon public exposure, the root of the evil has not been removed.

RESULTS TO MISSIONS

Monopolies and concessions have practically eliminated free trade and driven away independent traders. Travellers following routes from main station to main station have few opportunities of seeing the actualities of administration throughout the greater part of the country. The burden of exposing what has been taking place has therefore fallen mainly upon the missionaries. What has been the result? In a country where they were guaranteed freedom and encouragement by the great Powers of Europe their work is hampered and its extension hindered. Every obstacle has been put in the way of their obtaining sites for mission stations, in direct contravention of the Berlin Treaty. The British, American, and Swedish Missions working in the country all furnish evidence to this effect. Diplomatic intervention has had to be invoked, though missionaries do not take such proceedings except as a last resort. There can be no doubt that the Protestant missionary work on the Upper Congo is being deliberately circumscribed by the Government.

THE MISSIONARY POSITION

As illustrating the attitude of Protestant missionaries we subjoin a Resolution passed at their General Conference in 1909.

"We, as individual missionaries of the various Protestant Missionary Societies of several nationalities, working in Congo,

in Conference assembled at Kinshasa, September 14–19, 1909, do express our deep regret and disappointment that, although there has been, in certain localities, a slight amelioration of the condition of the native peoples, we are compelled, once more, to record our protest against the continuance of the system of Forced Labour and Excessive Taxation which still prevails, in various forms, throughout large areas of the Congo.

"On behalf of these suffering natives, we thank those who have used their influence in endeavouring to secure for them their guaranteed Treaty Rights. And we again appeal to all lovers of humanity in every land, to do everything in their power to bring about, as speedily as possible, the deliverance of these peoples from their state of practical slavery.

"Whereas, under Treaties, religious and philanthropic Societies of every creed are guaranteed that no hindrance shall be put in the way of the prosecution of their work for the benefit of the native peoples, and

"Whereas Protestant Missions have been for several years, and are still, denied the full enjoyment of these guaranteed Rights, especially in the matter of permission to purchase new sites needed for the extension of their work, and

"Whereas it has been brought to our attention that the Belgian Government has stated that concessions of land for missionary purposes have been granted to some of our Missionary Societies, thereby implying that such concessions are grants of new Lands; whereas with the possible exception of a conditional grant in one case, they are no more than minor additions to old stations, or exchanges of land, and therefore not such sites, situated in new areas, as those for which we have been applying for several years,

"RESOLVED unanimously,

"That we, as individual missionaries of the Protestant Missionary Societies, of several nationalities, working in Congo, in Conference assembled, again protest against this continued denial of these Rights, and request that they be granted."

(Roman Catholic Missions have not entered into the protest which others have made against the maladministration of the Congo, though brave men among them here and there have spoken out. Whether they have kept silence rather than speak against a power so favourable to themselves as the late Belgian monarch, we cannot say. But Protestant missionaries contrast the treatment meted out to them with that which is extended to the Roman Catholics.)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This Report was drafted before the death of King Leopold. The Commission note with pleasure the utter-

ances of the new King of the Belgians on the subject of the improvement of the condition of the Congo, and trust that the Powers will find His Majesty able and willing to carry out the reforms which it is their duty to see effected.

Missionaries have commended the good work done by the Congo Government, especially in the earlier years, as, *e.g.*, in clearing the country of the slave-raiding Arabs, in facilitating communications, etc. They have co-operated with the agents of Government as far as possible, and have never taken up an attitude of opposition until driven to do so. If officials have occasionally protected missionaries, missionaries have probably more often protected officials. They have done their best to bring about right relations between rulers and people, and would heartily rejoice in any change of administrative method which would enable them with whole-hearted loyalty to strengthen the hands of Government.

Quite apart from the spiritual value of their work, the aid they have given to the Government and the benefits they have conferred on the people by their achievements in exploration, education, linguistic and medical labours, etc., entitles them to speak as those who have the deepest interest in the welfare of the State.

Each Mission is required to appoint one member as its legal representative to the Government, and all official correspondence is conducted through this missionary on behalf of the Society which he represents.

It should be observed, finally, that the misgovernment complained of and the consequent obstruction of mission work has been chiefly in the Upper Congo region ; and it is the missionaries working there whose testimony has mainly been utilised for this Report.

(*b*) PORTUGUESE CONGO

The Portuguese Congo also is held under the Berlin Act, but complaints are made that here too the provisions

of that Act are violated. We cannot discuss matters indirectly affecting mission work, such as the troubles in connection with forced labour, etc., but are compelled to take notice of certain direct hindrances to the work of Missions (other than Roman Catholic) due to the action of the administration.

Difficulties are put in the way of Missions securing title-deeds for the sites of their stations; false charges against missionaries are readily listened to. Protestant marriages are not legalised, whereas marriage by the Roman Catholic rites is recognised as valid, and the procedure in civil marriage is so costly and so clogged with conditions as to make it unavailable for the mass of the people.

These and other minor grievances have formed the subject of representations both to the local Government and to the Government of Portugal, but as yet without effect. Quite recently, for example, a Mission dispensary has been closed on the ground that the missionary does not possess a Portuguese medical diploma.

The missionaries, nevertheless, have always approached the Government in a respectful way, and have been reluctant to call on the Powers who passed the Berlin Act to see to the enforcement of that Act. They would prefer to work in harmonious co-operation with the Government, and have taught their people to obey the law and honour the Portuguese Government. In spite of being subjected to unequal treatment in comparison with the Roman Catholics, their converts are loyal to the Government and aspire to nothing more than justice and fair play. The Protestant Missions are a powerful force on the side of law and order.

From the ancient and uninterrupted alliance between Portugal and the Roman Catholic Church, it is quite intelligible how difficult it must be for many officials to recognise in any effectual way the equal rights of Protestants. But while that is a reason for patience, it is also a reason for perseverance in claiming the fair treatment guaranteed by the public law of Europe.

(*c*) FRENCH CONGO

The Paris Missionary Society, working on the Gaboon and in the French Congo, reports on the neutral attitude of the French Colonial Government to the religious work of the Mission. The Government has few schools of its own, and inspects the schools of the Missions, Roman Catholic and Protestant, insisting on the teaching of French; and it has made gratuitous concessions of land to the Missions. The President of the Mission is the representative of the whole Mission in its relations with Government.

The Mission has played an important part in the pacification of the country, its members having often successfully arbitrated between hostile tribes. It has little to do with the Government, but has found the Governors kindly disposed towards the Mission. It deprecates the superficial Europeanising of the people, and aims at a Christian culture adapted to the native manner of thought and local circumstances.

(*d*) UGANDA

The case of Uganda is in many ways unique. Without losing its national character, it has passed swiftly through the stages from untouched heathenism and independence to a dominant Christianity and European suzerainty. Only one Protestant Mission has been at work in Uganda, and it has exercised an enormous influence in shaping the destinies of the people and the actual political situation. The Commission accepts as part of its Report the statement of the head of that Mission (the Church Missionary Society) as to the relations of Missions and Government in Uganda.

MISSIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF UGANDA

" The history of the missionary work of the Church of England in Uganda is inseparably bound up with the political history of

the protectorate of Uganda as a development of the Colonial policy of Great Britain. This close connection has been due to the peculiar circumstances of the case. The Mission in Uganda commenced its work in 1877—some thirteen years prior to the appearance upon the scene of any European political agency. Its position in the country was established and thoroughly understood by the natives. It was, therefore, natural and reasonable that, on the appearance of the first political agents, both they and the natives should take counsel with the missionaries. The former, as the political agents of Great Britain, looked for the support of the missionaries, the latter, as the pupils and converts of the missionaries, bound to them by very close ties of affection and duty, as naturally looked to the same body for advice and guidance. This I may say was never withheld. Thus it came to pass, through the necessities of the case, that the missionaries became mixed up with the politics of the country. In my opinion it would have been a grave dereliction of duty had they adopted any other line of action.

There have, of course, been times when administrators have chafed under the necessity of consulting the missionaries, but the larger minded and abler have invariably accepted the situation and adopted the attitude of Sir Harry Johnston, who, when negotiating the Treaty of 1900 with the King and chiefs of Uganda, said to them, "Go and consult the missionaries; they are your best friends."

The Mission in Uganda has taken part in the consideration and subsequent conclusion of several treaties between the British Government and the King and chiefs of Uganda.

(*a*) The first of these was the treaty concluded by Captain Lugard (now Sir F. Lugard) in December 1890, in which the protection of the Imperial British East African Company was accepted.

(*b*) Then in 1893 Sir Gerald Portal's treaty with the King and chiefs, by which Uganda came under the protection of Great Britain, was negotiated very largely through the Bishop of Uganda —the Draft Treaty actually being signed in the Bishop's house. All this, of course, was at the request of Sir Gerald Portal himself.

Then in 1900 the Special Commissioner, Sir H. H. Johnston, who was empowered by H.M. Government to re-organise the finances of Uganda, impose a hut tax, and re-settle the land, invited the co-operation of the Mission; and the Bishop and his Archdeacon were present and took part in the final Conference with the chiefs when, in the presence of Sir Harry Johnston, a new treaty was signed, viz. that of March 1900.

(*c*) No modification of the latter treaty, which has superseded all others, has ever been proposed without conference with the Director of the Mission.

The ultimate result of all this has been satisfactory to both parties, helpful to the Administration, and of benefit to the natives of Uganda. The relations between the Government and the Mission are of the most cordial character—so cordial, indeed, that a large measure of co-operation is possible, more especially in

that department of missionary work which in the second generation becomes more or less essential, viz. *education*.

Notwithstanding this satisfactory result in the case of Uganda, I am bound to add that as a general principle I am entirely opposed to missionaries mixing themselves up in the political affairs of the country in which their lot is cast. In the case of Uganda the circumstances, as I have already pointed out, were exceptional, and the participation of the Mission in the important matters alluded to above was unavoidable. But even in that exceptional case the utmost care was necessary in order that there might be no misunderstanding as to the grounds on which the Mission took part in matters political, viz. the exigencies and request of the Government, and the exceptional relationship in which the Mission stood to the people of Uganda.

I may add further that whatever assistance the Mission was able to render to the Government or to the King and chiefs of Uganda, was always rendered through the direction of the Mission.

APPEALS TO THE CIVIL AUTHORITY

1. As a general rule it may, I think, be laid down that the missionary should not appeal to the civil authorities for protection or assistance in such matters as danger to life and property. A missionary goes to his sphere of work carrying his life in his hand —knowing the risks and prepared for his Master's sake and love to souls to face them. It may, perhaps, be objected by those who remember the history of the Mission in Uganda, "But did you not appeal to the British Government at the time when the proposed abandonment of the country by the Imperial British East African Company threatened not merely the lives of the missionaries but also those of the converts?" My answer is, Yes, we did; but the ground of our appeal was the fact that our position had been compromised not by our own action, but by the action of Great Britain herself. It was held that, having endangered our position by her own action, she was bound to see that we did not suffer in consequence. The circumstances were wholly exceptional and do not vitiate my contention that, as a rule, the civil power should not be appealed to for protection to life and property.

2. There has been no pronouncement in this Mission regarding the attitude of missionaries to the civil authorities. It is, however, a generally understood rule that all matters which concern the Administration solely should not be touched by the missionaries but referred to the civil authorities. In all our Church Councils it is an unwritten rule to refuse to deal with matters involving civil issues. If a case is brought forward and in course of discussion it is found to be of a civil nature, the case is at once stopped by the Chairman with the remark, "This is a civil matter and we have nothing to do with it. It must be referred either to the Resident or the native National Council."

3. Of course, there are matters which concern both the civil authorities and also the Church, *e.g.* the opening of public markets

on Sundays and the Sunday travelling of Government officials, involving the employment of native Christian porters. Such questions have been discussed in our Synod, and representations have been made to the Governor upon the subject. In the latter case His Excellency caused a circular letter to be sent to all his officers asking them, as far as possible, to avoid travelling on Sundays. Representations concerning the public markets have also been sent to the civil authorities, with the happiest result—markets being either wholly or partially closed on Sundays. I may say that, generally, whenever the interests of the native Christians are involved, we have never shrunk from discussion nor refrained from sending representations to the civil authorities. These representations have always been respectfully received and in many cases action has followed on the lines desired.

4. In Uganda there is a native Government which administers the country under the supervision and protection of Great Britain. It is, therefore, often very necessary to be careful in distinguishing between the authority of the protectory Power and the Native Administration. In the above-mentioned case of officers travelling on Sunday, representations were of course made to the British Government. But in another case, viz. that of chiefs compelling their men to work on Sunday, representations were made to the National Council. Recently the question of marriage dowries was considered by the Synod of the Church and the conclusion arrived at was that excessive dowries were a hindrance to marriage, and it was decided to memorialise the native Government with a view to a law being passed limiting the amount of dowry. This was done and a law was passed which was afterwards approved by the Governor.

5. In the circumstances of Uganda there can be no question as to the advisability of appeals either to the British Governor or to the Native Administration. Favourable results have invariably followed in each case of appeal.

GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARDS MISSIONS

1. I have no complaint to make either with regard to the policy or the regulations of the Government of Uganda in their bearing on our missionary work. Our chief difficulty is rather with respect to the *attitude* not of the Government as an Administration, but of certain officials of the British Government who, in order to show their impartiality as between Protestants and Roman Catholics, go to the other extreme and favour Mohammedans. In some cases Mohammedan interpreters are employed in such a way that they become practically rulers of districts. And, of course, all their influence is used in the propagation of their own faith. Where this is the case there is no doubt but that a store of troubles, from an administrative point of view, is being laid up for the future. The loyalty of Christians is undoubted. That of the Islamites is more than doubtful. They have given trouble in days gone by in Uganda, and they will give trouble again. The attitude of these officials to which I refer is not only a violation

of that attitude of neutrality in matters of religion which the British Government professes to take up, but it is also a gross piece of administrative folly.

2. I have hardly any suggestions to make as to the way in which a remedy can be sought. The evil can only, I imagine, be dealt with indirectly by influence and counsel wisely directed. Of course, in any gross case of the violation of the principle of religious neutrality, representations can always be made to the Governor. In such a case, however, it is absolutely necessary to be certain of your facts and to make your representation quietly and calmly and with judicial-mindedness.

MISSIONS AND LEGISLATION

The missionaries in Uganda have been able, to a considerable extent, to shape legislation in several directions.

1. With regard to the marriage laws, I may say that our present law is the direct outcome of missionary effort. Some five years ago the Government, without any reference whatsoever to the Mission, promulgated a marriage ordinance which would have placed an embargo on Christian marriage throughout three-fourths of the Protectorate. It had been published in the official Gazette, and in a fortnight's time would have become law. A representation to the Commissioner by the Bishop led to its postponement and ultimate withdrawal. The Bishop was then invited, with his Archdeacon, to confer with the Commissioner upon the subject of a new law. The matter was thoroughly thrashed out in conference, and eventually a new law was promulgated on the lines suggested by the Bishop.

2. A law legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister was promulgated by the Commissioner. This, too, on a representation by the Bishop, as to its not being called for by either the Roman or the Protestant Missions, was withdrawn.

3. In the matter of education, there has been practically no legislation by the Government of Uganda. They have no funds at their disposal, and consequently the work of education has been left in the hands of the Missions, who are practically unfettered by legislature or regulation of any sort or kind.

4. In matters of language the Missions have held a dominant position owing, of course, to their being by so many years the first in the field. It may be truly said, so far as the written language is concerned, that it is their work and it is unchallenged.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

(*a*) GERMAN EAST AFRICA

In this colony Missions have often moved ahead of the German administration, and proved themselves friends of the people and arbitrators in quarrels between chiefs and tribes before any official was seen among them. Hence they have been of great service to the Government when the latter did take effective control; although, at the same time, when that control was exercised in a manner not in entire accord with what the experience and the philanthropy of the Missions indicated as the just course, and native troubles arose in consequence, the Missions could not continue to co-operate with the Government so closely as formerly. But still they have been doing great service in bringing the oppression of chiefs who were recognised as officials to the notice of their superiors, in procuring an amended system of taxation, and even in collecting the taxes at the Mission stations. Aided by Government, they have established villages for lepers, and have done much to reduce smallpox and other diseases. At the request of Government they have established schools; and Government gives, after an annual examination, some support to those schools in which German is taught. (It has also, however, its own schools.) Missionaries are constantly consulted on questions of the treatment of natives, national customs, etc.

In any serious case of injury, or on any indication of growing lawlessness, the mission policy is to call on the State to act at once. Unless this is done, many European lives may be lost, and severe punitive measures may have to be taken. The missionaries and the native Christians

stand for the Government against any rebellious movement. And in case of compensation for damage done in any rising being provided by Government, by confiscating articles of value belonging to the natives within a wide area, the Mission does not hesitate to accept its proportionate share. Its refusal would not be known to the people, and could do no good.

The Government rules in part through native chiefs, nominated or recognised; but the legal powers of such chiefs are somewhat indeterminate. The colony is only working its way to a clear definition of the status of every authority. Hence it is a constant difficulty for the missionaries to know how far they must recognise the native chiefs as officially over them, and how far these chiefs can go in their orders to the native Christians. Missionaries have to respect authority and avoid seeming overbearing; yet at the same time they cannot quietly see injustice done by the tyranny or ignorance of a native chief, whose continuance in power depends upon the toleration of Government.

The Missions are represented in the Councils, and in the Governing Assembly for the whole Protectorate.

(*b*) NYASALAND AND N. E. RHODESIA

Missions had occupied these regions for a considerable time before the British Government assumed control, and with the usual results. They had laid the foundations of the native Church, had acquired considerable influence over the chiefs and tribes inhabiting the country, had established educational institutions on a very broad and practical basis, and had learned the ways of the natives. Consequently they were able to give the Government, when it was established, very material help; and at the same time they were able to make the change from barbarous independence to subjection to civilised rule tolerable to the people. They have mediated between Government and the people as

friends of both; and this relation continues. Legislation on such matters as land tenure, native customs and laws, education, medical and public health requirements, etc., is usually or always undertaken only after consultation with the missionaries. Outrages taking place in the country have called for correspondence between Government and the Missions. And any matter affecting the welfare of the people, *e.g.*, the regulation of the emigration of labourers, may be the subject of representations made by the missionaries to the civil authorities. The results of such negotiations have in most cases been satisfactory.

The attitude of the Government is favourable to missionary work; and the character and qualifications of officials are steadily rising, a matter which is of favourable import.

Most of the Missions have united to work under a common educational code, accepted by Government; and Government has begun to allocate grants-in-aid. The missionaries also by linguistic and other work continue to render considerable service to Government, and their advice has had great weight in settling the marriage laws.

In spite of occasional divergence of views almost necessarily arising in consequence of different standpoints, it may be said that the relations of Missions to Government in these regions are most satisfactory, and founded on an excellent basis.

(*c*) UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

1. *Cape Colony*; 2. *Orange River Colony*; 3. *The Transvaal*

These colonies are not mission fields of the ordinary type. In Cape Colony and the Transvaal nearly one-fourth, and in the Orange River Colony more than one-third of the population are Europeans, and a considerable

fraction of the native population are Christians. Though European and American Missionary Societies still carry on extensive operations, there is a great and increasing work done by the Colonial Churches; and the field is largely a Home Mission Field.

The attitude of Government to mission work is favourable, and mission educational work is aided. The problems of South Africa are numerous and difficult of solution; and the questions arising in connection with the relations of Missions to Government there could not be satisfactorily answered without a full discussion of the thorny and intricate problem of the native races, for which sufficient material is not available for this Commission. The amount of native educational work in the hands of the Missions requires, however, some notice. Schools which receive grants-in-aid must be registered and inspected, and must conform to certain Government regulations. These are not generally found to be vexatious conditions. The Berlin Missionary Society, *e.g.*, which has placed almost all its schools in South Africa under registration, reports that it has been able to secure its three great desiderata, viz.:—sufficient time for religious instruction, full control of the teachers, and the retention of the vernacular as the educational language; and that the Government has faithfully carried out its promises of grants-in-aid. This testimony is in general confirmed by the other Missions.

4. *Natal*

In Natal, the fourth great colony which is entering the Union of South Africa, the situation makes a nearer approach to that which prevails in the Protectorates further north. Natal is indeed autonomous. But the European element, in whose hands lies all the political power, forms less than one-tenth of the population, and the administration is conducted with a constant watch upon the native population, lest discontent should lead to an outbreak which would deluge the land with blood.

There is, therefore, a natural tendency to repression, which sometimes comes in conflict with the missionary ideal of development of the native races. The character and views of the Governor for the time being deeply colour the policy of the Government; and missionaries have sometimes felt that their work has not had the support, or even the benevolent neutrality, of the officials. Considering that Missions were at work before the country became a British Colony, that they have done a very great deal to civilise the native races, and that they have been unvarying in their loyalty, they feel that the impeding of their freedom is not a policy which is either grateful or expedient.

The rise and spread of "Ethiopianism" has had a considerable effect on Government policy during recent years. That movement towards an independent Native Church has undoubtedly had a political side, and has engendered bitterness against British rule. It is not, therefore, surprising that in Natal, where the British population is so small, this movement has had to be watched by Government with a careful eye. It is to be regretted, however, that a policy was adopted which tended to cripple Missions, which are always the best bulwarks of settled government, and seemed to show that Government was hostile to the spread of Christianity among the native races. In 1902 it was announced that no mission work could be established on the "Locations" (the native land reserves on which over fifty per cent. of the native population of Natal and Zululand reside), unless a *resident* European male missionary was put in charge. This struck at the important work carried on in these locations by trained native evangelists working under European *supervision*; and the blow fell with exceptional force on Missions (European and American) of the Congregational order. But it was practically prohibitive on all the Missions, none of which could plant a European missionary at every outstation. A number of churches were actually torn down because there was no *resident* European in

charge; and the re-erection of dilapidated churches was forbidden.

Such a policy seems so anti-native that it positively drives native Christians into Ethiopianism, and throws the heathen back upon their own chiefs, who are not as a rule well affected either to Government or to Christianity.

Signs of a change of policy are appearing; and it is hoped that wiser counsels will prevail. Had Natal been a mere Protectorate, no doubt the matter would long ago have been referred to the Home Government and settled. But most missionaries feel that a more permanent and satisfactory settlement would result from convincing the local Government of the expediency and justice of a change of policy. This they have persistently striven to effect, aided by a growing number of thoughtful colonists.

Other difficulties have arisen in connection with the licensing of ordained Congregational native ministers as marriage officers, and in connection with mission lands, etc., which have not all been settled in a satisfactory manner.

All native education is in the hands of Missionary Societies, and Government gives grants-in-aid. It has also lately officially recognised an Advisory Board of missionaries to consult with the Education Department on matters concerning native education; so that while Missions have not influenced legislation, they have certainly influenced administration in this matter.

POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

As touching the question of the political aspirations of the people throughout South Africa, we may quote what seems a wise utterance on the part of an experienced missionary (not a British subject) which, *mutatis mutandis*, may be applied to many parts of the mission field:—

"In South Africa we are working for a subject people ruled by a foreign race. 1. Missionaries must ever inculcate absolute

loyalty to Government. 2. In cases of grievance missionaries must often smooth the way of approach, so that the parties wronged may bring their complaints to the notice of the proper authority. The missionary should not be slow to show the natives having a grievance the proper way of seeking redress. In so doing he is not only helping his people but he is serving the Government. When it comes to political aspirations that are at all legitimate and reasonable, the missionary should impress upon the native the gravity of responsibility accompanying such privileges; he should be taught the necessity of his proving his worthiness to receive such responsibility and privilege; he should counsel patience, enforcing the lesson from English history, showing how many centuries it has required for Britons to secure their present political privileges; once more he should reiterate that only through absolute and abiding loyalty to present authority can the native ever hope to secure the privileges he covets.

(*d*) BASUTOLAND AND BAROTSELAND

In these regions the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society reports that it has always had reason to be satisfied with the goodwill of the Government, which has allowed the Mission full liberty in its movements and expansion, and, subject to certain conditions regarding inspection and diplomas, has liberally subsidised the schools of the Mission.

In Barotseland the influence of the Mission has contributed to regulate and make the establishment of the Chartered Company as favourable as possible to the native population, and to secure the abolition of slavery. And in Basutoland the Mission, which exercises a strong influence over the people, has been constantly on the watch to advise the British Government as to measures of legislation and administration which may preserve a strong and healthy national life among the Basutos.

(*e*) GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Missions had been in operation in this region before the German annexation; and so far as they had been able to gain influence over the native tribes, proved to

be of the utmost value in interpreting and negotiating with the chiefs, when that annexation took place and was made effective over the whole region. And since then they have been of constant service in mitigating the rigor which occasionally marked the dealings of some officials with the native tribes, and in bringing these tribes to understand the methods and beneficent intentions and results of civilised rule.

In the Herero rebellion missionaries sought to act the part of peacemakers, and after the defeat of the rebels, succeeded in bringing 12,000 of them to voluntary submission. They have been exposed to many animadversions on account of their sympathy with the natives; but have always sought the highest interests both of rulers and ruled.

The Government has shown itself most accommodating in negotiations regarding the land for stations and farms which had been given over to the Mission by the natives prior to the annexation. To some extent it aids the Mission schools by small subsidies for progress in the teaching of German.

(*f*) MADAGASCAR

Since the occupation and annexation of the island by the French in 1895, Protestant Missions have had many anxious times. The trouble at first was mainly in vindicating their rights as against the Roman Catholic Missions (principally the Jesuits); and in establishing their character as loyal supporters of the Government. They were in danger between the insurgent Malagasy heathen and the French Government. However, the energetic and fair-minded General Gallieni at last came to understand the principles and the beneficent work of the Missions of the foreign Protestant Churches. And the arrival and brotherly co-operation of the French Evangelical missionaries not only helped to maintain and extend the work, but created a link between the foreign Protestant Missions and the French Government.

Their work revived, and harmonious relations existed between the Government and the Missions.

All this was changed on the departure of General Gallieni and the arrival of a new Governor of the extreme anti-clerical School, who seemed imbued with the idea that the separation of Church and State in France recently effected is equivalent to a rupture between the country and Christianity. Churches have been closed on the slightest pretext, and scarcely a new one permitted to be built. The educational work of the Missions has been almost destroyed by forbidding schools to be held in churches (in which nine-tenths of them were held), and by many other conditions. The Young Men's Christian Association at Antananarivo, the capital, has been suppressed as an illegal society. All kinds of vexatious restrictions have been put upon the public and private exercise of preaching and religious association. Malagasy Christians in Government offices have been forbidden to take part in religious work, and even their attendance at church has been frowned upon. The weight of official example has been thrown into the anti-Christian scale ; and the Christian Church in Madagascar has to struggle for its life. Education also, and with it the progress of the people, has been seriously retarded.

Representations to the local authorities have been of no avail. They are deliberately carrying out a policy which they profess to consider as the legitimate extension to the French Colonies of the policy of the home Government.

The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society has endeavoured to put the facts of the case before the French Government ; and it has endeavoured, through the press, to open the eyes of the public to the wrong that is being done. But hitherto there has been no improvement. Recently, too, a deputation representing the London Missionary Society and the Friends' Foreign Mission Association visited Paris and had an interview with the Minister for the Colonies. The deputation submitted a carefully prepared statement showing in detail how, under the present administration, the religious liberty

of the people was menaced and their Christian progress deliberately hindered.

It can hardly be believed that the Government of France, with its ideals of freedom and progress, will continue to uphold such infringements of religious liberty in Madagascar. And it is hoped that the efforts of the Paris Society and the appeal to the sense of justice and equality of which France is so proud, will secure for all Missions, French, British, and Norwegian, and also for native Christians, not as a favour, but as a recognised right, liberty for the unfettered exercise of Christian worship.

The missionaries are of one mind regarding the improvements made by the French Government in the condition of the island. The taxation is noted as heavy; that, perhaps, is inevitable. The Protestant Christians of Madagascar are taught loyal obedience to the Government, and patient submission, even when its actions seem to be harsh and unjust. Meanwhile, the missionaries, finding the expenditure of their energies on education curtailed, are giving themselves more earnestly to the deepening and intensifying of the spiritual life of their people.

PART II

PRINCIPLES AND FINDINGS

Varieties of Governments

The differences in government with which the Commission is concerned are seldom political or constitutional, but arise from the nature of the religion and the stage of civilisation of the countries concerned. On these things depends the attitude of Governments towards Christian Missions, and reciprocally the attitude of Missions towards Governments. If, in the course of our survey of actual conditions in the mission field, we have found missionaries advocating what seem to be diverse policies towards Government, a little consideration may show that this is due not to radically divergent principles as to the conduct of missionary operations, but to the spirit and method of rule of the Governments under which the Missions are carried on.

Without entering into detail, we may divide mission lands roughly into five groups: (*a*) those of low civilisation, but independent; (*b*) those of higher civilisation, and independent; (*c*) those of low civilisation, under Christian rule or influence; (*d*) those of higher civilisation, under Christian rule or influence; (*e*) those of the highest international rank.

The absolutely independent savage chief, representative of group (*a*), has disappeared; and the ethical and prudential rules governing the dealings of missionaries with such potentates, though intensely interesting as a study

of character, need not occupy the attention of this Commission.

Under group (*e*) we may mention, as a conspicuous instance, Japan. However different in spirit and in detail her civilisation may remain from that of Western nations, she has entered into equal external relations with the leading Powers of the world, and has established such internal order and toleration that problems of mission policy, *in relation to government*, have ceased to exist in any acute form. Christian Missions enjoy a freedom of action greater than that which they possess in some lands under Christian rule, and though doubtless there are laws and regulations which some would like to see changed, Christian Missions find no grievous political obstacles in their way.

There remain group (*b*) which may be illustrated by Persia and China, group (*c*) illustrated by the African Protectorates, and group (*d*) illustrated by India.

In countries like Persia, Missions are conducted under a Government which is not in sympathy with their operations, and where freedom of conscience—the right and duty of the individual in matters of religion—is, generally speaking, an unintelligible term, and toleration (in the Western sense) seems a violation of religious obligation. In China there is more intellectual toleration, but a standing suspicion of the Church itself as an organisation and also as the presumed organ of Foreign Powers. Missionaries cannot and do not under such circumstances expect official countenance in their work, and can only ask for freedom of action. If that freedom is denied, or circumscribed, missionaries must, for the time being, accept the situation, however earnestly they may strive to modify the official attitude. They must work under these restrictions or not work at all. The third alternative—disregard of the restrictions—is one which spiritual obligation *may* make a moral necessity to the missionary. But before disregarding such restrictions, he may well pause to assure himself of a divine call to do this. Three considerations must always weigh with him: (1) the re-

spect enjoined for the civil authority; (2) the possibility of his actions being disastrous to the work he has at heart; (3) the extent to which his action may involve others.

How far may he look for the aid of his own Government to gain him freedom of action? We are here among the shoals upon which in times past mission work has more than once made shipwreck. To invoke the aid of the secular arm has often been a fatal policy for the Church, at home and abroad. The missionaries of the Reformed Churches are of one mind in desiring the strength and stability of the nation in which they work, and they would not call in their own Government to force upon that nation an unwelcome policy.

We now take up the case of countries inhabited by races of low civilisation, and ruled or dominated by Christian Powers, as the African Protectorates and colonies. In this case Missions may fairly expect, as a general policy, not only freedom of action, but even the countenance and encouragement of the civil power on the ground of the proved value of the missionary enterprise to civilisation, peace, and humanity. Here there is no independent Government to be respected; there is no sensitive community, united by a great history or a great religion, to be approached with circumspection. Civilisation and religion come to them almost indistinguishably from the one power, and Missions and Governments may work in the closest sympathy. There should be little controversy here as to the duty of mutual support; and there would be none except for the regrettable fact that not all Colonial Governments have made the welfare of the people the ruling principle in their administration. Failure to do this at once produces friction in the relations between Missions and Governments, a friction which must continue until the Colonial policy is altered, either by voluntary change or by pressure from without.

So long as native chieftainship under the Government remains a reality rooted in the popular affection, missionaries endeavour both to respect and to utilise this

condition for their work. Any institution which makes for order and conserves national and tribal life calls for careful and considerate treatment at the hands of men who aim at saving and elevating a race.

Some modification of these principles must be made in countries of the last group which come under our consideration, namely, those in which Christian rule has been established over peoples of considerably advanced civilisation. Political independence may be lost, while many institutions and the religion of the people remain intact; and so long as these are left intact, the people may remain comparatively quiescent. In such circumstances, even Governments with the highest ideals must make innovations cautiously; and in Governments with lower ideals, caution may easily degenerate into cowardice and unfaithfulness. Missions may be excluded or severely restricted, because they are controversial in their operations and revolutionary in their effects. Or they may be encouraged by assistance for their philanthropic work, while left unsupported, yet unimpeded, in their propaganda. British India has seen both of these phases.

In such circumstances, what can missionaries ask as of right? We do not think they can ask for more than freedom of action. Even the grant-in-aid system, which is an undoubtedly just and fair system in lands where Missions are working hand-in-hand with, or even in advance of, Government for the moral and material advancement of the land, might become questionable if challenged by the popular feeling of a civilised people, resenting what is, after all, indirect support of evangelisation by Governments. But freedom of action we do consider they are entitled to expect, as of moral right, from any Christian Government.

In both civilised and semi-civilised countries under Christian rule, we consider the removal of all legal disabilities operating against native Christians a moral right.

Missionaries and Loyalty

The missionary is usually concerned with two Governments, that of the country from which he has come, and that of the country in which he works. And he must be regardful of his duty to both.

The missionary can never shake off his nationality or race. However disposed he may be to sink all that marks him off from the people among whom he lives and works, he cannot, as a rule, do this. His conduct will involve certain consequences to his fellow-countrymen; for they will be judged by his example. His nation and even his home Government are involved in him. Should he be murdered, that Government may demand the punishment of his murderers, and also of conniving and negligent officials, on the ground that it cannot permit its subjects to be so dealt with; it may even declare war on his account. Political complications may result from foolish actions done by him as well as from injuries done to him. If he persists in demanding his legal rights, he may damage the reputation of his country. If he is too forbearing in claiming justice, he may be encouraging lawlessness which will harm or destroy others, particularly his own fellow-countrymen. However highly he may exalt his heavenly citizenship, he cannot escape the fact of his earthly citizenship. Nationality, race, citizenship, Government, positive law, loyalty, are terms pregnant with meaning and importance to the missionary. Dwelling, as he usually does, in a place where an intellectual, moral, and social ferment is about him, himself one of its very active centres, he learns to prize and strive to keep stable the things of intrinsic worth in the local civilisation or semi-civilisation. Foremost among these things is the sentiment of respect for constituted authority.

The unanimity with which missionaries of all Societies, living under Governments of the most varied kinds, insist upon the paramount duty of respect for government is remarkable. "Render unto Cæsar the things

that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," is a text frequently emphasised. Alive as missionaries are to the fact that Christianity is a revolutionary moral force, they are equally alive to the danger of permitting its character to be misunderstood, and to the necessity of keeping in the forefront the spiritual and personal transformation which Christianity aims at. They dread the identification of the Christian faith either with the aggression of Foreign Powers or with the spirit of lawlessness. Missionaries working among barbarous tribes make it a point to strengthen and not to undermine the respect due to the tribal chiefs; and even where there is European over-lordship they insist upon the recognition of the place and lawful power of the native authorities. Indeed, it may be said that wherever the ruling power is performing, even imperfectly and spasmodically, its primary duties of keeping peace and administering some kind of justice between man and man, it has the active support of Christian Missions. From Japan, China, India, Africa, comes the claim that the Christian community, though often discouraged, and sometimes persecuted, is the most law-abiding and loyal section of the community.

It may, therefore, be assumed that when missionaries, or Mission Boards, or Conferences protest against the act of any Government or its agents, as affecting unfavourably either their own rights or the welfare of the people, their action is not to be attributed to disloyalty or hostility to the administration. Few, indeed, are the cases in which missionaries find themselves out of all sympathy with the general policy of any Government. But claiming, as they do, justice for themselves and for their converts, and having a deep interest in the welfare of all the people, they do, from time to time, fall into difficulties with the civil power or its subordinate agents, when they consider that official actions are in plain violation of justice or humanity.

It is the practice of missionaries to teach the Churches which they have founded, to pray, according to apostolic

precept, for Kings and all in authority, and more particularly for the rulers of the land in which they live. In the Feudatory States of India, for example, the people are taught to pray for the ruling Prince. We are not in a position to say whether this practice is universal; we believe that it should be; and we rejoice in the evidence thus set before the world that the Gospel is a Gospel for the nations, and not a product of Western thought nor a means of advancing Western interests.

Social and Political Aspirations

It is interesting to note the way in which the missionary becomes the champion of the people among whom he lives. Their national unity, their language, their institutions (where not plainly anti-Christian or immoral) become dear to him. The reproach that missionaries desire to Europeanise the inhabitants of mission lands, if ever true, is now absurdly false. Their anxiety everywhere is that the land in which they dwell should work out its national destiny, aided where need be by the higher culture of the West. They are earnest in striving to disentangle the essentials of Christian faith and life from the Western outgrowths and accompaniments which tend to obscure them, and in insisting that these essentials shall be permitted to adapt to themselves the ancient ways of every nation.

We may here remark the frequency with which missionaries dwelling in lands which have come under European rule deprecate the denationalising of the people, and above all the discouragement of the use of the vernacular languages, when these have been cultivated and have issued in a literature. The language of the ruling power must be imparted to many for the proper government of the country, and the development of its industries and commerce. But the mother tongue, if adequate, is the natural tongue for the preaching of the Gospel; and it is the great natural bond between a man and his own people, living and dead, without

which he loses much from the great heritage of a share in the life of his people.

In the evidence before us there is abundant proof of awakened political and social aspirations throughout the world. Movements towards the realisation of national life are found everywhere, and cannot but affect mission work, more especially in the many mission lands where the missionary belongs to a dominant race. The duty of missionaries to the civil authorities, their devotion to the welfare of the people, and their responsibility for the training of the young Christian communities, make the ascertaining of the precise line to be followed in time of political stress a difficult task for them. We have no hesitation in endorsing the missionary opinion, which is practically unanimous on the following points: (1) Missionaries should have nothing to do with political agitation. This is outside their sphere, and engaging in it can only harm their work. (2) It is their duty to teach and practise obedience to settled government. (3) It is at the same time their duty to exercise their influence for the removal of gross oppression and injustice, particularly where the Government is in the hands of men of their own race. It may be added that missionaries have not parted with their intelligence, nor have they lost their rights as citizens of enlightened communities, so that they cannot but form convictions as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the "colonial policy" they see in operation around them. These convictions it may be their duty on proper occasions to press with all the influence they can command upon the attention of the State officials responsible, provided that in so doing they keep clear of association with any political movement.

Public Services of Missionaries

It would be an impossible task to enumerate the services rendered by missionaries to Governments. It would, in the first place, be impossible always to draw

a dividing line between the aim of the missionary and the aim of the Government. Missions aim not merely at securing the spiritual enlightenment of the individual, but also at promoting the healthy social life of the community. Governments likewise aim at enhancing the welfare of the people. In this field, therefore, Governments have been spared both much expense and great care by what Missions have done. Of forms of service lying outside of strictly religious work, in which Missions have done work of a type which Governments appreciate and themselves undertake, we can only make passing mention. In exploration, scores of missionaries have been pioneers; in sociology, their observations have contributed a mass of material of the highest value. Many languages have been by them reduced to writing, their grammatical principles ascertained and recorded, and development of a literature has been begun. Their study of developed languages has enriched philology and all human culture. Their educational work has been vast and inspiring. In establishing the printing press and introducing the school book, the newspaper, and healthful literature of all kinds, they have again and again been pioneers. By their medical work they have not only alleviated the sufferings of millions, but have also powerfully promoted the cause of public health, while destroying the malignant influence of pretenders to magical power. By their influence with the people and their dissemination of higher principles of life, they have often made possible the acceptance and enforcement of good laws, which, without them, Governments would have feared to pass, and would have been unable to make effective. Penetrating into barbarous lands before the advent of any civilised Government, they have, by moral influence alone, mitigated war and slavery, and cruel and abominable usages, and prepared the way for an enlightened and civilised rule; and where civilised rule has followed them, they have proved, both in official and unofficial positions, the best mediators between the new, strict, and exacting Govern-

ment and the suspicious native races, resentful of interference with their ancient ways, evil and good alike. By the consecration of countless noble lives and the sacrifice of many lives of which the world was not worthy, they have won an influence which has made the task of Government comparatively easy ; and everywhere they continue to manifest and inculcate that loyalty to and co-operation with Governments, without which the latter indeed may rule, but without which they cannot fit a people for the higher task of ruling themselves.

Certain Underlying Principles Controlling the Relations of Missionaries to Governments

In our reading of the replies to the several questions submitted by the Commission, there has been forced upon us the conviction that there are certain general underlying principles, universal in bearing, which, for clearness and accuracy of conclusion, require statement. They appear frequently in the replies, but incidentally and elusively ; not as principles, but as sayings by the way. Such are—

1. The missionary remains a subject of his own Government, unless he chooses to naturalise himself elsewhere. His civil status is usually that of a domiciled foreigner, entitled to all the privileges and subject to all the disabilities of domiciled aliens, whatever be their occupation. Special clauses in treaties may modify this condition, but the general principle stands.

2. The convert in the foreign mission field remains a subject of his Government. His civil status is not changed, except so far as the law of a country may impose civil disabilities upon the profession of Christianity.

3. The relation of the missionary, as such, to the convert is purely religious. He has to him no peculiar civil relation which in the least entitles him to interfere in the general administration of the country. On the contrary, discretion would dictate a habit of absten-

tion from appearing at all, in person, in such matters. Jealousy of foreign interference is common to all nations.

4. Every independent State has full control of municipal regulation within its borders. It is not answerable to any foreign State for such regulation—although it may become so for the results—except so far as the regulation contravenes accepted international law or treaty. Its function is civil, and in that respect supreme. It is sole judge of what makes for the good or ill of its people. Under this head come all questions of property rights, as well as of social order; therefore efforts for changes in existing laws affecting tenure of property, or travel, however reasonable in themselves, are in fact requests for legal privileges, however strongly they may be urged as moral rights.

5. The admission, or regulation, of missionary work is no exception to this principle. As towards the Government of a country, the right of a missionary to enter, and to pursue his work, when such right exists, is civil in nature; and as such is conditioned and controlled by the Government, just as any secular occupation is. Within the limits prescribed by the Government such civil rights become legal rights; outside those limits he has in his work no civil or legal rights. A moral right, and even a spiritual obligation, may rest upon him, but these confer no legal right to act; and if he does act upon them, he has no consequent claim for safeguard upon the Government of the land, nor upon his own Government, because these, being civil in function, can take no cognisance of spiritual obligations. These obligations may transcend civil rights, or, in extreme cases, may even forbid deference to the requirements of Government, and in such cases the consequences of loss of a just claim upon governmental protection are to be cheerfully accepted. Readiness on the part of missionaries and the constituency of missionary organisations to pay the price of loyalty wins respect and magnifies the supremacy of Christian obligation.

An opposite course would forfeit respect and greatly impair the testimony borne to this higher relationship.

6. There has appeared in various replies no precise recognition of moral, or of natural rights and duties, as distinguished from legal. This remark applies more particularly to the comments made upon the action of certain Governments in refusing permission to missionaries to enter their dominions or portions thereof. There has appeared also in some cases a disposition to infer a legal right to preach the Gospel from a spiritual obligation. There is no connection between the two. Their spheres are different.

7. Accepting the above six formulations, there seems no reason why the missionary, equally with the merchant, should not seek facilities and enlargement for his work at the hands of the Government; whether that of the country in which he works, or his own. Governments are continually thus dealing with citizens, and with one another, for various interests. If the tone of intercourse be conciliatory, and the temper reasonable, no harm will ensue, even though no agreement be reached.

8. Conditioning the application of all these to missionary enterprise is the Christian principle concerning pressure of reasonable demands, or the enforcement of undoubted rights, which St. Paul formulated in the words: "Look not every man on his own things (only), but every man also on the things of others." It has been to us a source of the greatest satisfaction to see this Christian spirit, as well as an eminent candour and reasonableness pervading all the replies, with scarcely any exception. To those interested in missions this cannot but be most reassuring.

If these several principles be sound, and be accepted by Missionary Societies as well as by Governments, we believe the great mass of cases in which there has been friction between missionaries and officials would find easy reasonable solution before a disinterested judge.

However disappointing the decision might be to the feelings of the loser, it would be based upon accepted standards, as law and precedent.

There remain, of course, a number of extra-legal incidents, *e.g.* popular commotions, lawless acts of individuals, which cannot be reduced to rule. The relation of the local Government to these is simply that of responsibility for breaches of the civil order; for the maintenance of which it is the more answerable because it alone possesses the initial right of regulation. Being completely possessed of this right, beyond any external interference, it is unqualifiedly responsible for consequences proceeding from breaches of order. In such cases, the Governments of domiciled aliens possess a right of interference on their behalf; but in so doing they deal only with the consequences, the injuries, not with the regulative methods, further than by amicable representations. They may negotiate, they do not dictate; unless matters pass on to a state of virtual or actual war, in which case force enters. It is true that these international relations are sometimes modified by special treaty provisions, such as extra-territoriality; and also there is an increasing tendency on the part of civilised States to remonstrate against crying acts of inhumanity towards large classes of mankind, even though their own citizens be not affected. Such exceptions, however, do not constitute general principles, to the statement of which we wish to limit ourselves.

We proceed now to the consideration of the replies regarding the main points of difficulty which have emerged in the contact of Missions with Governments in the mission field, bearing in mind the instructions of the Executive Committee of the Conference, that "the relations between Missions and Governments should be investigated in their bearing on the spiritual ends of the missionary enterprise."

General Nature of Questions Arising

These questions have chiefly arisen in connection with restrictions upon the movements and settlement of missionaries, their acquisition of property, the persecution of, or discrimination against, native Christians, compensation for injuries inflicted, and co-operation with Governments in matters of public welfare, such as education and the like.

In the great majority of the instances cited, it appears to us that the matter of legal rights would be determined by the principles we have enumerated. As in all legal cases, the application of the principles may present difficulties and need an expert to determine. If Governments have to be brought in at all, they are such experts; that is what they exist for. The missionary must acquiesce in their decision as to legal right; but it is open to him to appeal to his own Government, whose decision will to him be final, as to legal right. When the missionary thus appeals to Cæsar, he leaves the matter. Should the ultimate decision contravene his sense of duty, of moral or spiritual obligation, action becomes a matter of conscience, with which Governments have nothing to do. A man thus acting throws over the Government, appeals to God, and takes the consequences. This subject is not before this Commission.

Take, *e.g.*, the question of the age at which a person may become a Christian. If by this is meant an open profession of Christianity, as by baptism, the Government is within its legal powers, and may have justifying reason. It can only limit open profession, however; it cannot prevent the inner conviction and acceptance. It is practically powerless over the spirit, as all Governments are.

With reference to the Boxer trouble, we may note the action of the American Government, which held the Chinese Government entirely responsible for injuries of every kind, while at the same time directing all its diplomatic efforts to the maintenance in full municipal

control of the Government, which had none the less proved so inefficient. American missionaries were considered on exactly the same footing as all other American residents outside the Legation. Chinese converts were regarded as Chinese subjects, no reclamation being made on their behalf; and this is the more notable because in the Joint Note of the Powers, 22nd December 1900, among individuals to receive indemnity were "Chinese, who have suffered in person or property in consequence of their being in the service of foreigners." President McKinley, it is true, in his message to Congress said: "I regard as one of the essential factors of a durable adjustment the securement of adequate guarantees for liberty of faith; since insecurity of those natives who may embrace alien faith is a scarcely less effectual assault upon the rights of foreign worship and teaching than would be the direct invasion thereof"; but no action appears consequent upon this utterance.

Much depends on the particular official concerned. This sentence may stand as an important modification of the answer to any question as to the relations of Missions to Governments in any mission field. The policy of any Government in its laws, treaties, and proclamations may be encouraging, neutral, or restrictive of mission work, but how far that policy is applied in any particular case depends very largely upon the administrative or judicial officer upon whom the duty of applying it rests. Of course, the more perfectly organised and centrally controlled the system of Government machinery is, the less can the personal bias of an official be shown. Nevertheless, as evidence from every quarter proves, many obstacles can be created or difficulties overcome at the pleasure of the officers of Government in whose sphere of work any Mission operates.

This has to be borne in mind in weighing the evidence, often discordant, as to the attitude of a Government to Christian Missions. In an Indian province a succession of two or three Lieutenant-Governors of the same way of thinking may produce a widely adopted attitude towards

Missions on the part of officials which, for the time, is as much a part of the Government policy as any law or regulation. Much more is it possible for a Chinese Viceroy to produce in his province a general tendency of favour or of hostility to mission work. And in barbarous lands the will of the chief for the time being may be the all-important question.

Much depends upon the official concerned. A good deal also depends upon the missionary concerned. Lack of experience, want of tact, an inadequate realisation of the heavy and delicate duties of Government officers, a confusion of moral rights with legal, an over-estimating of his own importance, and pure ignorance on the part of the missionary have occasionally produced friction and even collision. In circumstances where consequences more serious than a personal rebuff to the missionary may follow, *e.g.*, in China, Missions are more and more limiting the powers of the individual agents, especially the inexperienced, and insisting on all dealings with Government officials being carried on by the seniors or heads or Boards of the Mission. A true appreciation of the functions and difficulties of administrative officials is, we believe, common among missionaries. Nevertheless, in any particular case of friction arising, it must not be assumed that the missionary is right; and it would be very advisable that all Missions should be so organised that the experience of seniors and the common sense of the majority should be brought into use on all important cases of possible difference with the civil power.

Government Interference with Missionary Activity

Missionary enterprise, as here under consideration, is to alien creeds, and more often than not to alien Governments. The British Government is the most notable exception, its dominion covering many creeds alien to that of its own people.

Upon the whole, we would say that the preponder-

ance of opinion is that the Government has the legal right in its own order (civil) to lay such regulation as it thinks necessary upon the missionary's action, even up to the point of temporary prohibition; but every Government, in exercising this legal right, does so subject to the public opinion of the civilised world. The missionary equally has the right in his own order (religious) to disregard the prohibition; but in so doing he in so far relinquishes his civil rights.

It has been in this connection that we have noted an occasional confusion of impression, namely, that because a Government is wrong, whether perversely or mistakenly, in its prohibition, the legal right of the matter is in some way affected.

One of the chief functions of civil Government is to maintain internal order. It must be sole judge of what is necessary to this end. The fact that its conduct in a particular instance may be even perverse cannot overthrow a right essential to the well-being of the community.

Because of this necessity, every resident, native or alien, is legally bound to obey the civil order. Conditions may justify, may compel, disobedience, as a moral or spiritual duty, *e.g.* St. Peter and the Apostles in Acts, chapters iii., iv., and v., and, as in their case, the acceptance of consequences. None of these things affect the principle of obedience, nor the civil necessity and right upon which it rests.

As regards the crossing of a border, there are two Governments concerned; the one entered, and the one from which entrance is made. The case of the former is on all fours with what has just been said. The Government from which departure is made may warn that it cannot protect, or may prohibit the crossing as tending to involve other foreigners in danger. Either Government so doing would act in accordance with its undoubted rights, though it may not always be a wise policy.

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Appeals to the Civil Power

This question has been discussed with considerable fulness in the section on China in the earlier part of the Report. But it must be borne in mind that the circumstances in China are peculiar: (1) the Government (as in many mission-lands) is non-Christian; (2) owing to the misdeeds of Christian nations, Missions suffer under much odium; and missionaries are restrained in using their legal freedom of action by the consideration that Chinese officials always see behind them the shadow of a strong and aggressive Foreign Power; (3) this suspicion, with all its unfortunate concomitants, is strengthened by the existence of extra-territorial rights possessed (in common with other Europeans and Americans) by missionaries, under treaties which China entered into only under pressure, sometimes involving force of arms. The Commission is convinced that in many other lands missionaries may appeal with much greater freedom to the civil power to secure for them their undoubted rights, *e.g.* in Japan, where a non-Christian Power has adopted what a European or American would consider a fair attitude towards Missions and missionaries, and still more in India, where a Christian Government rules, and absolute impartiality as between religions is the declared policy and promise of the supreme Power. Similar considerations apply to the freedom of the convert to make an appeal for himself. And under some conditions even the intervention of the missionary to secure justice for the convert—a thing forbidden by European Ministers and deprecated by Mission Boards in the case of China—may be a necessary part of the missionary's work, as in European Protectorates over barbarous regions in cases where native chiefs tyrannise or European officials have not yet grasped the situation.

How far the principle of Christian expediency should modify the demand for legal rights is a difficulty in any and every case. But it is obvious that it involves much more extensive limitations on legal rights in some cases

than in others. The line of duty at one time and place may lead to absolute renunciation of lawful claims, and at another to the exaction of the uttermost farthing. The "expedient" and the "lawful," though distinct, may sometimes coincide.

(For a fuller discussion of the principles involved, we refer to Dr. Barbour's note in the Appendix, pp. 140–1.)

It must not be forgotten in discussing this subject that missionaries have to do not only with Governments, but also with peoples. And it may very well be that rights conferred by a Government are not known or understood or considered fair by the people. This would undoubtedly influence many missionaries in India, especially in the most backward parts. They would consider it a duty to have regard to popular feeling in any matter in which no moral principle was concerned.

Extra-Territorial Rights

The consensus is that the missionary is legally entitled to all the privileges of the domiciled alien, those of extra-territoriality included. In this we entirely concur. To do otherwise would be to sanction the principle that missionaries should be discriminated against.

Some Societies have introduced the qualification, that such rights have not been extorted by force; and others, that they do not contravene the sense of justice—are not inherently unrighteous. We do not think that these considerations affect the general principle though they must affect the extent to which missionaries will seek to avail themselves of their rights. Here again our judgment gives great weight to the question of expediency as contrasted with the question of legal right. Missionaries are entirely within their rights when they claim the privilege of extra-territoriality in any country where that system prevails, for the missionary is certainly entitled to every right which attaches to any other citizen of his country, anywhere. In other words, no man forfeits any privileges that he

may have as a citizen of his country, by the mere fact of becoming a missionary in any part of the world. On the other hand, in this regard, great weight should be given by the missionaries to St. Paul's thought when he said, "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient."

The missionary, ordinarily, is not invited into any country. He goes from a sense of duty, moved by the constraining love of Christ, and he is well aware that in countries under non-Christian Governments, his legal rights are limited. If by the action of Government, either his own or that of the country to which he goes, his status is made secure by law or treaty, the question still remains whether Christianity will not be more successfully commended to a non-Christian people, if those who are teaching it show a willingness to submit to loss and injury, and even injustice, rather than appeal to the temporal power, which must deal with the situation not from the religious but from the civil point of view. Extra-territoriality is a civil arrangement in its very essence. Life and property may often be safeguarded by an appeal to it. It may be a stimulus to the country to press forward to such a level of administrative and legal improvement that other nations shall no longer find it necessary to protect their citizens in this exceptional way. But, while it exists, it is a species of political servitude which is very irritating to the Governments where it is enforced. We can imagine, therefore, that the missionary cause, in its spiritual aspect, might be seriously, if not vitally, injured, in a given instance, even by a successful appeal to this arrangement.

Much, certainly, will depend on the feeling of the people. In one case a Government may lag behind, in another it may be in advance of the people in its appreciation of the beneficence of mission work and the character of the missionaries. In the former case a missionary, with the goodwill of the people among whom he works, may claim his extra-territorial rights without injuring

the cause of Christ in any way. Such instances have often occurred in Turkey, for example.

Claims for Compensation

In general we think that the propriety of acceptance of indemnity by a Mission is in large degree a question as to the stage of advancement reached by a people by whom wrong to the Mission has been committed. In savage islands, while acceptance of voluntary restitution of losses and endeavour to promote the disposition to offer this might be justifiable and commendable, it is plain that the invoking of foreign aid in the interest of redress for wrong would be indefensible. On the other hand, in countries in which freedom of belief and religious effort is protected by guarantees representative of a preponderating public sentiment, co-operation with Government in its requirement of just reprisal for wrong is a duty. The practical issue to be met by Missionary Societies relates to the time when, in any given land or locality, such conditions have been reached that the balance of obligation inclines to the side of co-operation in support of just principles of national and international law. We are inclined to hold the general position that, in cases in which freedom of action by Missionary Societies in respect to the receipt of indemnities is conceded by their own Government, a larger permanent good will result if these Societies follow a practice of returning indemnities in cases in which these do not represent a genuinely free action of the authorities, supported in a reasonable degree by a favourable public sentiment.

The practice of forbearance should not be followed irrespective of its bearing on the interests of others. Duty to the community may rightly cause a missionary to hold an attitude with regard to wrongs suffered by him different from that which he would hold if the issue concerned only himself. The law of service obviously involves the promotion of social order, and

thus involves loyal support of Government in the maintenance of a just administration. Civilised Governments recognise this obligation in provision for compulsory testimony of witnesses in courts of justice, and in the requirement that all citizens shall, upon call, assist officers of the law in making arrests. Wherever a local Government is sincerely committed by its own ideals and by a supporting public sentiment to requirement of indemnity for wrongdoing, we think that the missionary and the Missionary Society are under obligation to co-operate with the Government in its effort thus to serve the true interests of its people. One thing, however, seems to us to be plain. Any appearance of self-interest, of personal exaction or resentment, is to be scrupulously avoided. As a rule, initiative may well be left to the Government, acceptance of indemnity being greatly preferable to a demand for it. Pressure for a high valuation of losses is most inconsistent, and acceptance of indemnity obviously in excess of losses would be deplorable. The influence of the missionary and the Missionary Society should be on the side of leniency in the action of Government, and absolutely against unjust exaction. Where the innocent are involved in the payment, a generous attitude is the more important, and consideration may well be given in such a case to the possibility of return of the payment in part, or of relief by donations to local interests. The personal attitude should be unmistakable—that of disinterestedness and kindliness; but co-operation in promoting the just ends of a just Government is a plain obligation, not inconsistent with, but involved in fidelity to the law of service.

If Christian Missions rest upon a just basis and are, therefore, legitimately entitled to the same protection accorded other interests, will not a course involving a quiet assumption of this ultimately be most helpful to all interests? Advocacy of acceptance of indemnity under international action may, we think, be made from very pure motives and on high grounds in the interest of true and lasting service of mankind.

But while considerations relating to the interests of public order are of much force, and under certain conditions must, we think, justly be deemed controlling, we cannot but question whether they are to be accepted as determinative of missionary policy at the present time in all lands in which missionary work is conducted. As respects lands in which the treaty rights of Missions rest upon a concession virtually extorted from the Government, and with slight support in public sentiment, other considerations should not fail of attention.

1. The missionary's purpose ostensibly is to do good to the people. It is unfortunate when his presence, judged by any standard which they are in a position to apply, brings to them financial loss and hardship.

2. The presence of a missionary in some localities adds to the difficulties experienced by the Government in the preservation of public order. Is it desirable to exact a penalty for local disturbances which, with all watchfulness, the Government may have been unable to control?

3. Christian Missions stand for the supreme expression of Christianity, of Christ's message of love and blessing. We feel strongly that it is very unfortunate if this testimony is clouded, and we think it cannot fail to be clouded by exaction of indemnity when the appeal is without support in the moral sentiment of the people.

As regards compensation for life, we concur with the view held by the majority of missionaries that such compensation should not be accepted, so far as the Missionary Boards are themselves concerned. If the widow or children of the missionary need compensation, there seems to us less reason why they should decline to accept compensation than that the Missionary Boards should do so. This seems to us, however, precisely one of the risks that the missionary runs, not only for himself, but for his family. The Missionary Boards have no more sacred duty than to care for the widows and children of missionaries who have been killed at their post of duty. But we can imagine no stronger testimony that mis-

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sionaries can give to a non-Christian people of the disinterestedness of the whole missionary effort than by their willingness to sacrifice life itself for the cause. This demonstration of disinterestedness is greatly clouded, if it is not wholly lost, by the acceptance of compensation for lives lost.

The Granting of Protection to Refugees

The question of shelter to refugees differs from the others, in that it applies to conditions of instant emergency, rather than to settled policy, or to past injuries. No consensus, or predominant opinion, is to be affirmed from the replies.

To begin with, the missionary, as such, has no legal right to extend protection. He is not an officer of the law, nor of his own Government. The somewhat doubtful right of refuge, exercised sometimes by foreign legations, does not apply to missionary enclosures.

On the other hand, every man, missionary no less, has a natural right to stand between unlawful violence and its victim, and the law will justify to the fullest extent whatever steps or consequences result from such intervention. It is in this sense lawful to kill a murderer, if only so his victim can be saved. In many countries where missionaries reside, such dangers arise to whole communities, because of their Christian faith. In such instances, if the missionary can interfere by giving shelter, he is justified; if he can protect by forcible resistance, he is justified; not because the persons are Christians, but because they are in danger; and he is also justified in utilising whatever moral force resides in the known fact of foreign protection behind himself and his property.

Such action is plainly exceptional, and temporary. Where an efficient Government exists, or has been restored, the interferer, be he missionary or other, returns to normal conditions. Those whom he has protected return to the protection of the Government, the subjects,

or charges, of which they presumably are. They resume their civil status, and the missionary resumes his.

We apprehend that to stand between a woman and her prostitution by compulsion, where local custom admits such, would be justified on the same grounds as prevention of murder ; granting the appeal of the victim, and especially if a Christian convert, where the personal religious and moral motive would have the peculiar force with which Christianity alone among religions invests sexual purity.

For the rest, where settled Government exists, it is the protector of all within its borders ; and the missionary should act on the presumption that it will protect. When it fails, remonstrance is a matter of discretion. The rule seems sound : in no case to defy rightfully constituted authority, even though the standard of authority is not what Christianity has taught us it should be.

Hindrances to Mission Work caused by the Policy or Actions of Governments

The manner in which this question is framed calls rather for a statement of facts than an expression of opinion. Nevertheless, there enters necessarily into the replies some estimate of the construction to be placed upon acts.

In spite of certain grievances, some of which have been illustrated in Part I. of this Report, there can be elicited, we think, a consensus of opinion that the missionary cause on the whole has been gaining, and continues to gain, in the esteem and favour of Governments, both Christian and non-Christian. This is a most gratifying testimony to the recognised beneficence of the movement, due to the spirit and conduct of those under whose charge it has been in non-Christian countries. The result warrants the belief that, upon the whole, progress will be best assured by adhering to the lines of the past, asking at the hands of Governments no more than fair opportunity, equal in all ways to that accorded to commerce.

The disadvantages, social or municipal, under which a convert lies in consequence of the profession of Christianity, cannot but arouse the sympathies of the missionary; but it may be doubted whether these are not more than compensated by the gain in character of those whose belief triumphs over the loss.

This, of course, does not say that no conciliatory attempts should be made to obtain from the Governments concerned the removal of such disabilities; but there must be kept always in view that Governments in such matters usually reflect the temper of the people. Patience must be exercised until the people come to better mind. That such better mind is gradually being induced seems evident from the replies. The cause gains steadily.

The British Government in its rule, or control, over Islamic peoples, occupies a position of extreme delicacy; not only within its own borders, but in the effect which action there may exert on the vast external mass of Mohammedans, fanatically attached to their religion, and scarcely conscious of tolerance in our sense of the word. It is not singular that, in the effort to give to Mohammedanism the outward respect due to it in a region peopled by its adherents, the British officials should sometimes "lean over backward." But the Commission is of opinion that in Egypt, the Sudan, and Northern Nigeria, the restrictions deliberately laid upon Christian mission work and the deference paid to Islam are excessive, and that a respectful remonstrance should be made to the British Government on the subject.

We have no hesitation in asking the Conference to make a decided pronouncement upon the Congo question. This new State came into being under conditions which make the whole family of nations more directly responsible for its existence than is usually the case; they did not merely accept an accomplished fact, but lent an active hand to the accomplishment. This makes it doubly imperative that the Conference should present a full weight of Christian sentiment, effectually voiced, to overcome

the natural and usually commendable indisposition of Governments to meddle.

The truth that a friend who is unfriendly makes the worst enemy is probably nowhere more conspicuously illustrated than in the attitude of nominal Christians towards missionary effort, and it is entirely in accord with the nature of things that the most crying scandals enumerated in the replies occur under the administration of Governments of Christian peoples: Congo and Portuguese Africa. In such cases it is to the honour of Missionary Societies that their representatives are disliked because they will not be silent, but insist on turning on the light. In such conditions, there will inevitably be pressure of every kind within the law—and much can be exercised thus—to provoke withdrawal. In these cases it appears to us that Missionary Boards are justified in appealing to their home Governments for interference on the ground of humanity.

In all Islamic lands there continue to be difficulties in the way of a fair field being granted to the preachers of the Gospel. Turkey is in the throes of a great reform movement. Persia also is aiming, if somewhat blindly, at better things. Other Mohammedan lands seem content with what seems their semi-barbarism, and continue repellent to the preachers of the Gospel. But, in any case, Islam is unlikely to make a voluntary offer of equal opportunities to Christianity. Can any steps be taken in the direction of opening doors now closed? The missionary may justly insist upon receiving equal freedom of action with the merchant; indeed, considering the proved benefits which have attended his operations, he may respectfully ask even a wider privilege of entrance. And for the convert to the Christian faith, has the time not come in the development of a world civilisation and of international relationships when the enlightened nations of the world may make freedom of action in religious profession the birthright of every man?

National Duties to the More Backward Races of Mankind

The Commission cannot pass from the consideration of hindrances put in the way of Missions by the policy or action of Governments, without expressing the opinion that nothing is a greater hindrance than the feebleness of the sense of responsibility for the welfare of the more backward races which is felt by the more advanced. It is true that this is seen more in the selfish, arrogant, and callous conduct of individuals than in the declared policy of modern Governments. Yet even men in high public positions do not hesitate to speak of all "coloured" races as if they were doomed to perpetual national servitude, and had no higher destiny than to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the "white man." Dependencies and colonies peopled by millions of the darker races are sometimes professedly, as well as actually, administered, not in the first instance for the benefit of their own people, but for the aggrandisement of the nation which has annexed them. And even where humanity and integrity temper the mastership of the stronger race, and measures are taken for the amelioration of the lot of the people, there is too often an absence of persistent and extensive effort to elevate them in character and attainments and to preserve them from the evils of the baser influences of the dominant civilisation.

Believing as we do that in the Providence of God the strong and enlightened Christian nations of Europe and America have acquired dominion over so many other races, not that they may enrich themselves, but that these races may, under their tutelage, learn to appreciate and appropriate the blessings of Christian civilisation, we desire to record our regret that this conviction so little influences the conduct of some Christian nations and individuals, and our hope that it may be increasingly acknowledged and made effective in private and in public action. We desire to see Christian men and nations dissociating themselves from all demoralising traffic,

from all exploitation of less favoured races, from all forms of aggression. Above all, in territories which have been annexed by Christian nations, we desire to see realised the only possible justification of that annexation, in a deliberate, steadfast, and thorough policy for the education of the people, in the highest and fullest sense of that term.

It is much to be desired that, in the case of countries which have colonies or dependencies inhabited by non-Christian peoples, a place should be given in the public worship of all the Churches not only to prayer for Missions in general, but also to special intercession for the welfare of these peoples and the spread of the Gospel among them.

Some Public Questions

There are certain great questions which have so often formed the subject of representations from Missions to Governments, and with regard to which, speaking generally, mission opinion is so often opposed to official, that a place for them may be expected to be found in the Report of this Commission. Such questions are the Opium Traffic, the Liquor Traffic, and Forced Labour.

These questions, it must be noted, do not arise as questions of principle in considering the relations of Missions and Governments. They are questions affecting public morality and national welfare, and missionaries who have been brought face to face with them cannot, as a rule, take the same view which is taken by the majority of officials of the Governments which are responsible for the existing state of affairs, and they have felt themselves compelled to speak out in condemnation. The missionary view is so decided that it would be impossible to let it pass unnoticed. At the same time, the fact that it is so decided makes it unnecessary to discuss these questions at length, especially since the points at issue do not *directly* affect the subject-matter of this Commission, the relations of Missions and Governments.

The Commission believe that they represent the feeling

of missionaries and the supporters of Missions in recording: (1) their conviction that the traffic in opium should cease, unless under the restrictions proper for a dangerous drug; (2) their regret that the history of this traffic in China has brought discredit upon Christian Missions by associating them in the Chinese mind, through the action of some Western Governments, with the spread of opium; (3) their sympathy with the Chinese Government in the steps at present being taken to restrict the use of opium; (4) their hope that the British Government will act in full harmony with the Chinese Government; (5) their hope that the British Imperial and Indian Governments may be able to meet the financial difficulties created by the cessation of the opium revenue, in a way which shall not increase the taxation of the mass of the people in India nor injure the Feudatory States concerned.

The Commission desire to record their endorsement of missionary opinion in favour of the severe restriction, if not the absolute prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor to native races, among whom its use has hitherto been practically unknown, or on whom its use is manifestly producing deteriorating effects.

The Commission desire to record their conviction that a system of forced labour is always liable to the greatest abuses, and tends to the oppression and virtual enslavement of helpless races; and to express their hope that all civilised Governments will aim at its speedy and complete suppression.

Joint Action of Missions

Enquiry has been made in many mission fields where different Missions are working side by side, with a view to ascertain whether, in the opinion of missionaries, it is desirable that there should be some representative missionary body in each field through which matters of common interest can be laid before the local Government, and which can advise individual missionaries in important cases. The variety of opinions elicited, as

well as the diversity of conditions prevailing in the different fields, makes it impossible for the Commission to speak of a consensus of missionary opinion or to make any recommendations of its own. There are, however, evident signs of an increasing amount of united action throughout the world. A stronger sense of spiritual unity is drawing together missionaries of different Churches whose work brings them into local contact; the improvement of means of communication makes possible the unification and common action of workers spread over a comparatively large area; and the Home Boards of Missions are facing the problem of the evangelisation of the world in a more statesmanlike and comprehensive way. The Commission can only say that in some great fields there is a feeling among many missionaries that the relations between the Government and the Missions can be made and kept right only by such united action as will draw out the entire strength of Missions and their supporters. How this is to be accomplished must be left to the Home Boards, aided by the counsel of their missionaries. Probably each great field will demand a somewhat different mode of organisation for united action. In the detailed survey of mission lands in this Report scattered indications will be found here and there of what already is being done.

Findings of the Commission

Having now reviewed the relations existing between Missions and Governments in most of the more important mission fields of the world, and having considered the chief problems arising and the principles upon which their solution depends, we desire to state the findings which seem to us most necessary to be recorded as the issue of our study of the question.

1. *Harmonious Relations of Missions and Governments*

With gratitude to Almighty God, King of kings and Lord of lords, the Governor among the nations, we

desire to record our thankfulness for the large amount of mutual helpfulness found to exist between so many Missions and the Governments within whose territories they work; and also to record our conviction that, as the unselfish aims and beneficent results of Missions are being more widely appreciated, the good understanding between Missions and Governments is increasing.

2. *The Right of Entry for Christian Missions*

Inasmuch as the results of missionary enterprise are now so evident, and have extended over so long a period, that their general beneficent effect is demonstrated, we think that it may reasonably be asked of all Christian Governments that they should use their good offices with those of other nations for the free admission and exercise of missionary endeavour, where such admission is not now granted; and that such interposition may be justified to the Governments upon the broad ground of humanity, on account of the beneficent influence of Missions, and upon the common right of mankind to receive such benefits.

3. *Responsibilities of Christian Colonial Powers*

In view of the enormous influence exercised by Christian nations over races of less developed civilisation and lower material power, we would express the earnest hope that a growing sense of responsibility for the right use of this influence may control the actions of both Governments and individuals; and in particular we would express our conviction that where territories peopled by such races are under the rule of Christian Powers, the prime duty of such Powers is the education and development of these races.

4. *The Rights of Native Christians*

Evidence having been laid before us that in many countries—occasionally even in countries under the control of European Powers—native Christians lie under disabilities both in regard to the exercise of their religion

and in regard to their civil status, we would emphasise the fact that Christian teaching inculcates respect for the civil authorities of their own land as the duty of Christians, and would affirm the reasonableness of granting to Christians all the protection, rights and privileges of loyal and law-abiding citizens. We would further urge that Christian Powers should not only adopt this rule of action in all countries under their direct control or subject to their political influence, but should also make friendly representations on the subject to such other Powers as have not removed these disabilities.

5. *Government Regulation of Missions*

While fully recognising the duty and right of the civil authorities of every country to lay such temporary restrictions and conditions on the movements and settlement both of their own nationals and of foreigners within and across their borders, as are demanded in the interests of internal order and international peace, we think it well to record our judgment that it is not wise for the civil power to allocate areas of work to different Missions, unless in conference with and with the concurrence of the Missions concerned.

6. *Missions in British India*

We believe the time has come when the Missions operating in British India should make a searching enquiry into the existing relations between the Missions and the Government there, with special reference to such points as the principle of religious neutrality, the educational situation and the grant-in-aid system, the difficulties of Indian Christians, and the right of entry, work, and settlement in the Feudatory States; and at the same time we would record our thankfulness for the general good relations of Missions and Government in India, and for their harmony of aim which has made possible such a large amount of co-operation as has long existed.

7. *The Belgian Congo*

We are of opinion that the claims of humanity and the rights of Missions have been so flagrantly and continuously violated by the Government of the Congo State (now taken over by Belgium), that an appeal for action should be made by the Conference to all the Powers which were signatories to the General Act of Berlin.

8. *Preparation of a Statement of Principles*

We recommend to the Conference that it take steps for the appointment of a Committee, composed in part of international jurists of reputation, to draw up a brief statement of recognised principles which underlie the relations of Missions to Governments, which statement, after having received the endorsement of the leading Missionary Societies or a representative Board of Missions, may be published for the information both of missionaries and of Government officials who may be in contact with mission work.

APPENDIX A

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

STATEMENT FROM THE SOLICITOR FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.
Secured by the kind offices of Hon. John W. Foster.

(This valuable document is printed *in extenso*, not merely for its own value, but as an indication of the way in which it is hoped that all Christian Governments will review their relations to Christian Missions. The traditions of the different Powers and the condition of their colonies and dependencies, where such exist, forbid the expectation that they will all be found to assume precisely the same attitude to Missions. But it is permissible to hope that an endeavour may be made to reach a common understanding; and the statement here printed may serve as a first step in that direction.)

It is common knowledge that the United States was originally settled either by God-fearing men and women fleeing from persecution, or by political refugees who were unable to bring about reforms which they believed essential to good government and were unwilling to comply with the state of affairs existing in the Old World, or, finally, by those who, unfortunate at home, were desirous of bettering their condition in the New World. The Pilgrim and the Puritan, the Episcopalian and the Catholic, the Quaker, the Presbyterian and the Lutheran settled the Atlantic Coast. The roundhead and the cavalier, the rich and the poor and the inmate of the debtors' prison found themselves side by side upon a plane of equality without the traditions and the conservatism of an older world. Whether the colony was composed of Puritans and manifested intolerance to the protestant brother of a different faith; whether the settlement remained loyal to the Church of England, as Virginia, or favoured the Catholic, as Maryland, or freely accepted the law-abiding without questioning his religion, as the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the principle of religious toleration steadily gained ground, and by the time of the Revolution it may be said generally that religious differences ceased to influence men or their conduct toward each other, by virtue of a conception of liberty which embraced not merely the right to and protection of property, but the freedom of thought,

of speech and of public worship. The example of Virginia, which in 1786 established, by statute, religious freedom, profoundly influenced the Federal Government and the various States of the Union; for, by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of a religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and the States of the American Union have, in their various Constitutions, placed the same restriction upon their legislatures. The amendment of the Constitution and the like provisions in State Constitutions were not dictated by indifference or hostility to the principles of the Christian religion, but aimed to prevent not merely the establishment of any one form of religion, however widely spread, but to establish upon a firm footing the right before the law of every religious sect.

As the Constitution of the United States prohibits the establishment of any religion, and as the States of the Union have incorporated this provision in their respective constitutions, it necessarily follows that there neither is nor can be established in the United States a State Church. As the United States differs so radically from the countries of the Old World in which a State religion either exists or has existed, to the disadvantage, it is submitted, of both Church and State, and as the absence of a State religion and the favoured position of its votaries influence necessarily in no small measure the foreign policy of the United States in matters of religion, the status of religious bodies in the United States, as set forth by a learned writer,* may be of some interest:

"Complete separation of church and state, and complete freedom in religious worship and in the expression of religious belief, are the rules throughout the states. In none of them can preference of one religious sect over another be established by law, or compulsory support, by taxation or otherwise, of religious worship, or attendance thereon, be required, or restraint upon the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of the conscience be imposed. Nevertheless, the common law of the land recognises the fact that the prevailing religion is Christian, and it will not suffer one with impunity to shock the moral sense by utterances which a Christian community would regard as profane or blasphemous. * * *

"The religious societies which exist throughout the states are quite different in their organisation from those which exist in England, and still more different in the relations they sustain to the state. They are for the most part formed under general laws; which permit the voluntary incorporation of societies of attendants upon religious worship, under such regulations as they shall see fit to establish for themselves, and with power to hold real and personal property for the purposes of their organisation, but for no other purpose. * * *

"All questions relating to the faith and practice of the church and its members belong to the church judicatories, to which they have voluntarily subjected themselves. But, as a general prin-

* Cooley's Blackstone, vol. 1, Editor's note to p. 376.

ciple, those ecclesiastical judicatories cannot interfere with the temporal concerns of the congregations or society, with which the church or the members thereof are connected. * * *

"Such a society, when duly incorporated, is not an ecclesiastical, but a private civil corporation, the members of the society being the corporators, and the trustees the managing officers, with such powers as the statute confers, and the ordinary discretionary powers of officers in civil corporations. * * *

"The church connected with the society, if any there be, is not recognised in the law; the corporators in the society are not necessarily members thereof, and the society may change its government, faith, form of worship, discipline and ecclesiastical relations at will, subject only to the restraint imposed by their articles of association and to the general laws of the state. * * *

"The courts of the state do not interfere with the control of these corporations or with the administration of church rules or discipline, unless civil rights become involved, and then only for the protection of such rights."

In the United States, Christianity is not prescribed by statute, and the government, as such, is not and cannot be interested in any form of religion. In all the essentials of Christianity, however, we are a Christian nation; for the principles of the Christian religion are universally recognised and the right of any citizen or foreigner within our borders to profess in public as well as in private his religious beliefs is recognised and safeguarded by the laws of the land.

If, therefore, the United States, as such, exerts no influence upon the religion of its citizens concerning questions of faith and of individual opinion, in the formation of which the government neither has nor can have any voice, it would seem to follow that the United States, as such, should take no greater interest in the propagation of the Christian faith in foreign lands than it does in the development and growth of religious denominations within its own territory; that is to say, the United States cannot well be a party to missionary enterprise in the sense that the missionaries are in any way clothed with an official character, or that they be granted greater rights and privileges by virtue of their sacred calling than other American citizens engaged in lawful pursuits. In a carefully considered dispatch to the American Minister to China, dated October 19, 1871, the Department of State said: *

"The President will see with deep regret any attempt to place a foreign ecclesiastic, as such, on a different footing from other foreigners residing in China. It is a fundamental principle in the United States, that all persons, of every sect, faith, or race, are equal before the law. They make no distinction in favour of any ecclesiastical organisation. Prelates, priests, and ministers can claim equal protection here, and enjoy equal rank in the eye of the civil law. The United States ask no more in China than they confer at home. Should the peace of the empire be dis-

* Foreign Relations, 1871, pp. 154–155.

turbed by efforts from any quarter to induce or compel the Government to confer unusual civil rights on foreign ecclesiastics, you will make it plain that the United States have no sympathy with such a movement, and regard it as outside of the treaty rights which have been conferred upon the Western nations. Should these demands, however, be complied with, this Government will then consider whether, under the thirtieth article of the treaty of 1858, a similar right will not at once inure to the benefit of all the public officers, merchants, and citizens of the United States. * * *

"Except so far as the guarantee of that treaty extends, the President cannot permit the officials of the United States to participate in any attempt to disturb the natural relations between the Emperor and his Christian subjects. He particularly desires it to be understood that the profession of the Christian faith is not regarded by the officers of the United States as a protection against punishment for crime. Ecclesiastical asylums for criminals have never existed in this country, nor will they be planted elsewhere through its agency."

The policy of the United States, to be deduced from this passage, is that missionaries and merchants stand upon an equality in the eye of the law; that every man, whether he be preacher or man of affairs, is first of all a citizen of the United States and, as such, entitled to protection to his person and property so far as international law permits, and the right, whether he be tradesman or churchman, to follow his calling. Just as the United States has entered into innumerable commercial treaties in order to secure for American industry and commerce in foreign parts equal rights and privileges with the native, so the United States has entered into treaties with various countries by the terms of which American missionaries are specifically granted the right to reside within the territory, to acquire property necessary for their mission, and to preach the gospel to natives, provided that this be done without seeking to disturb the political organisation of the country in which they reside.

Out of the many treaties concluded by the United States for the protection of its citizens in foreign parts, and, more especially, for the protection of American missionaries, the treaties with China alone will be briefly examined in order to deduce from them the policy of the United States in so far as missionaries are concerned.

In 1844 the Honourable Caleb Cushing negotiated the first treaty between the United States and China, and while the privileges to be enjoyed by American merchants are carefully enumerated, missionaries are not specifically mentioned. By the year 1858, however, the importance and advantages of the presence of missionaries for the development of China were so fully recognised that Article 29 of the treaty of June 18, 1858, refers to them specifically in the following terms:

"The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, are recognised as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter, those who quietly profess and teach

these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who according to these tenets peaceably teaches and practises the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested."

It will be noted that Protestant and Catholic are treated upon a plane of absolute equality, and the nature and scope of missionary enterprise are summed up in a single happy phrase " as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them." The article, however, does not stop here, for it proceeds to say that the Christian may not merely reside in China without interference, but that the missionary may profess and teach the Christian doctrine without persecution. So far the missionary is assimilated to the merchant, but the philanthropic nature of the missionary's efforts and the benefits likely to accrue to the native from the propagation of the Christian faith are recognised by the express stipulation that the Chinese convert who peacefully teaches and practises the principles of Christianity shall not be interfered with or molested. This is a distinct discrimination in favour of the missionary, because the Chinese merchant with whom the American trades is not protected by treaty. Ten years later the subject was re-examined and in the treaty of July 28, 1868, the privileged situation of Christian citizens of the United States and of Chinese converts was continued and strengthened by Article 4, the material portion of which provides that:

"It is further agreed that citizens of the United States in China on account of their faith, religious persuasion, and Chinese subjects in the United States, shall enjoy entire liberty of conscience, and shall be exempt from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith or worship in either country."

At the same time " privileges, immunities or exemptions in respect to travel or residence " are conferred upon citizens or subjects of both nations (id. Art. VI.).

The continued intercourse between China and the United States and the benefits resulting from the self-sacrificing devotion of American missionaries in China, led to the negotiation of the treaty of 1903, in which the privileges and immunities of American citizens, including missionaries, were carefully considered and set forth at length, and, as Article 14 of this treaty not only states in detail the rights of missionaries but at one and the same time indicates the policy of the United States in regard to missionaries in foreign parts, it is quoted in full:

"The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, are recognised as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Those who quietly confess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teaches and practises the principles of Christianity shall in no case be interfered with or molested therefor. No restrictions shall be placed

on Chinese joining Christian churches. Converts and non-converts, being Chinese subjects, shall alike conform to the laws of China, and shall pay due respect to those in authority, living together in peace and amity; and the fact of being converts shall not protect them from the consequences of any offence they may have committed before or may commit after their admission into the church, or exempt them from paying legal taxes levied on Chinese subjects generally, except taxes levied and contributions for the support of religious customs and practices contrary to their faith. Missionaries shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects; nor shall the native authorities make any distinction between converts and non-converts, but shall administer the laws without partiality, so that both classes can live together in peace.

"Missionary Societies of the United States shall be permitted to rent and to lease in perpetuity, as the property of such societies, buildings or lands in all parts of the Empire for missionary purposes, and, after the title deeds have been found in order and duly stamped by the local authorities, to erect such suitable buildings as may be required for carrying on their good work."

It will be noted that the first part of this important article is a re-statement of the provisions of previous treaties, but the concluding sentences are indicative of the policy of the United States towards missionaries and their converts. International law recognises the right of a government to protect its citizens or subjects in a foreign country in order to prevent discrimination between natives and foreign residents. In countries not admitted to full membership in the family of nations by reason of an imperfect organisation or a system of government at variance with Western ideals, greater rights are enjoyed either by virtue of custom or treaty or both, so that, contrary to the principle of equality upon which international law is founded, the Western nations claim and exercise rights inconsistent with full sovereignty, so that, in certain respects, the foreigner is treated as subject to the jurisdiction of the home country instead of being remitted to the laws and customs of the country in which he resides. The status of extra-territoriality is thus created, so far as China is concerned, by treaty between the two countries, by virtue of which the American citizen is withdrawn from the jurisdiction of China in criminal matters and in controversies of a civil nature in which American interests only are involved. Infractions, however, of treaty rights are international and their adjustment is attained through diplomatic channels. It therefore follows that the rights granted by treaty are under the peculiar protection of the United States, and that the violation of their letter and spirit leads inevitably to diplomatic representations. But however great and extensive these rights are, it is of the utmost importance to missionary enterprises that the missionaries conform in the exercise of their rights to the local customs and regulations, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the rights specifically granted by treaty. Otherwise, friction arises and there is great danger either that the treaty be abrogated, or that its provisions be vio-

lated indirectly in such a way as to render the continued presence of the missionaries impossible or to interfere so seriously with their efforts as to check the progress of their work.

Without attempting to examine in detail the status of the missionary in China, it is at once evident that an American Mission in China cannot advance the cause it has at heart without a right to rent or lease property or to acquire property upon which to erect buildings necessary for the prosecution of its work. As the result of friction or ill-feeling, however, the Chinese authorities may be unwilling to permit the acquisition of property, and it may become necessary for the United States to extend its good offices, or, through diplomatic channels and by diplomatic pressure, to secure for the missionaries the property necessary for the Mission, the right to acquire which is specifically granted by the treaty. Without going into detail, it may be said that the Government of the United States has frequently been called upon to aid missionaries to secure title to real estate, not only in China but in other countries where American missionaries reside, for the purpose of extending their religion; otherwise, it would be possible for the unfriendly Government to place restrictions upon the transfer or acquisition of property, which would in fact, if not in theory, prevent the transfer of title and thus violate an express provision of a carefully considered and beneficial treaty.

As is well known, the missionaries have not confined themselves solely to the conversion of the native, but have endeavoured to raise the standard of living and comfort, and, by the establishment of schools, hospitals and other charitable institutions, to promote the material welfare of the native as well as to inculcate the doctrines of Christianity. As these institutions, with whose daily benefits we are happily familiar, have met with opposition, and, indeed, have been destroyed by mob violence, it has been necessary for the United States to intervene for the protection of such property, and, in case of destruction, to exact such indemnity or compensation as will permit religious societies to make good the losses so suffered. The history and importance of Robert College in the development of the Balkan Peninsula, to take but a single example, show the inestimable benefits that institutions of learning, due to American initiative, have conferred and undoubtedly will confer upon civilisation, and it is eminently right and proper that our Government should take all measures consistent with international law to protect charitable institutions, such as hospitals, from destruction at the hands of those for whose benefit, and for whose benefit alone, they have been created.

The article under discussion calls attention to the rôle which the missionary should play in the land of his residence; for, if he attempts in any way to interfere with the political development of the country where he is located, he not only involves the home Government in controversy but defeats the purpose of the Mission. Therefore, the treaty specifically provides that "missionaries shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects." A failure to comply with this provision would undoubtedly cause the United States to

withdraw protection to the missionary or to the Mission implicated, because such action would be not merely inconsistent with the treaty but a distinct violation of its express terms. Fortunately, such instances are rare, although they are not unknown in practice.

International law not only allows but, indeed, requires a government to protect its citizens in foreign parts where the foreign Government is either unwilling or unable to grant requisite protection; but international law, except in extreme cases, does not admit the right of one Government to interfere in the purely domestic affairs of another. The claim, therefore, of a Government to object to the laws and customs of a foreign country in so far as they apply to its own subjects or citizens, is tantamount to a claim of intervention, which can only be based upon express treaty provisions; for the right of interference, although not expressed, is limited to interference in behalf of one's citizens or subjects. As, however, the propagation of Christianity in foreign parts is regarded as of inestimable advantage to the native population, nations have bound themselves by treaty to permit such propagation and, indeed, to further it. Thus, in our treaties with China the missionaries are not only allowed to teach the principles of Christianity, but the converts to the Christian faith are permitted to teach and practise Christianity without molestation, provided it be done peaceably. In order to give full effect to this provision, the treaty of 1903 declares that "no restriction shall be placed on Chinese attending Christian churches"; but, lest the conversion of Chinese subjects to Christianity shall interfere with the orderly development of China and hamper the Government in administrative matters, it is provided that "converts and non converts, being Chinese subjects, shall alike conform to the laws of China," and that they shall be subject in their purely political and domestic relations to the laws of the land. There is, however, a very liberal provision that converts shall be exempt from "taxes levied and contributions for the support of religious customs and practices contrary to their faith."

Without entering into further details, a single concrete case may be taken from the recent diplomatic correspondence of the United States, in order to show the interpretation placed upon the treaty rights and the policy of the United States in protecting and advancing missionary enterprise.

On October 28, 1905, the American Presbyterian Mission, stationed at Lien Chou, in the Province of Canton, was attacked and destroyed by a mob, and in the course of the destruction five missionaries (Mrs. Edward Charles Machle, Miss Amy Machle, Dr. Eleanor Chestnut, and Mr. and Mrs. John R. Peale) were killed, Dr. Edward Charles Machle and Miss E. G. Patterson alone escaping. The attack seems to have been due to the refusal of the missionaries to allow the village people to fire off a cannon upon missionary property during a native festival. Without attempting in any way to criticise the action of the missionaries in refusing permission to place and use the cannon upon the property of the Mission, the occurrence shows the

necessity of avoiding, even in the smallest matters, a line of conduct which may in any way alarm native susceptibility.

In the ordinary case, where an American citizen domiciled in a foreign country sustains injury to property or loss of life, the local authorities would apprehend the guilty parties, pass them before a court of justice, and by adequate punishment meet the requirements of the law. In such cases questions of indemnity would be excluded, although an action would lie against the perpetrator of the outrage for the value of the property destroyed: the local Government would not be taxed with responsibility unless connected with the outrage or was guilty of negligence amounting to complicity. A sudden outburst of a community, unexpected under ordinary circumstances, of such a nature as the local authorities could neither foresee nor control, would not of itself justify diplomatic representation, much less a demand for indemnity. If, however, the guilty persons were not brought to trial and punishment, this would be regarded as a denial of justice, and would permit a settlement through diplomatic channels with a proper indemnity for losses incurred. Even if legal proceedings were instituted, still, if the punishment were inadequate or not inflicted, the foreign Government would render itself liable in accordance with the ordinary principles of international law and procedure.

The question, however, in the present instance, was complicated by treaty stipulations and the existence of extra-territoriality. The United States, therefore, insisted that compensation be made to the Presbyterian Mission for the destruction of the Mission, including a well-equipped and extensive hospital, and that, in view of the peculiar atrocity connected with the murder of the American missionaries, indemnity should be paid by the Chinese Government for the wanton murder of the missionaries, as well as compensation for losses actually sustained by American interests. As the result of the prompt intervention of the United States, an indemnity was paid to the relatives of the American victims at Lien Chou, and properly so, for the assault upon the missionaries resulted not merely in their death, but also in an injury and insult to the United States of which they were citizens. It may be stated that the death of Dr. Eleanor Chestnut not only blotted out a life of great promise and singular usefulness, but left homeless and friendless two little nephews whom she supported and educated.*

Further instances of missionary activity, and protection to them in the enjoyment of their just rights, might be quoted at length from the foreign relations of the United States, which have occurred in recent years in Turkey, Persia, Portuguese Africa and the Congo, but, as the policy of the United States was in accordance with the views expressed in this communication, it seems unnecessary to allude to them.

The policy of the United States, therefore, is to regard the missionary as a citizen, and, in the absence of specific treaties

* Foreign Relations, 1906, vol. 1, pp. 303–341.

granting exceptional rights and privileges, to extend to him the protection ordinarily accorded to American citizens in foreign parts; to advance missionary enterprise in so far as it does not raise political questions and interfere with the orderly and constitutional development of the country in which the Mission is located; to favour the Mission in all proper ways; to protect the missionaries not only in their places of residence but in travelling through the country for the purposes of the Mission; to secure for them the right to hold property, without which, in many cases, the efforts of the Mission would be frustrated, and to obtain for them the right not merely to exercise in private but to profess in public the doctrines of Christianity, to establish schools for the education of their children and of the native population in whose midst they are situated, and to protect from assault and destruction hospitals and other charitable instrumentalities.

In conclusion, as setting forth in a few brief paragraphs the policy of the United States, the sphere and function of the missionary and the conduct expected from him, the circular letter of Mr. George F. Seward on assuming charge of the American Legation in Peking in 1876, deserves quotation:

HONG-KONG, *March* 3, 1876.

SIR,—Upon assuming the duties of the ministership, I find that a majority of the grievances coming to me for representation to the Imperial Government are those of our citizens who are missionaries. This fact leads me to address to you, in common with our consuls in China generally, some remarks as to this class of cases.

It is entirely true that a large part of the business of the legation in the past has been of this kind. At all the ports in China, Shanghai only excepted, the missionary residents coming from America largely outnumber all other citizens of the United States. Probably more than one-half of our whole representation in China are the messengers of the Christian system. These belong to a class who, in the pursuit of their work, are likely to meet difficulties. They go into the interior to preach and to reside, while our merchants confine their work essentially to the ports. Their business is to displace existing religious systems, and in doing so they must necessarily arouse antagonism. With them zeal is a duty, and the conservative disposition which grows up when property is at stake is wanting. In many of our mission establishments the central control is not strong, and each individual, be he discreet or not, is more or less free to work out the bent of his disposition.

Looking to these facts it may well be expected that for the future, as lately and in the past generally, missionary cases will continue to call for a great share of the efforts of the legation.

If such a remark should be predicated of any legation at our own capital, it would attract general attention, and the whole tendency involved would be subjected to anxious examination.

In making these remarks I recognise fully the leading facts, first, that the sympathies of the American people wait upon the

efforts of the missionaries; secondly, that their efforts tend undoubtedly to the moral and physical advancement of the peoples among whom they are so generously expended; and, thirdly, that in my observation our missionaries are thoroughly imbued with the American idea that church and state should be separate, and that the former should rely upon spiritual weapons in conducting spiritual contests.

The fact remains, however, that missionaries do from time to time get entangled in difficulties. They are assaulted, their converts maltreated, their mission-houses, chapels, dispensaries, and book-shops are pillaged and destroyed, or if none of these things happen, they find difficulty in securing houses and lands from which to carry on their work. In all these cases they appeal to the consuls, and as a last resort to the legation. It will continue to be so, so long as the West is Christian and the East adheres to other systems.

We are all agreed, then, as to the facts, and in regretting the situation which virtually establishes our political representation as the right arm of the propagandists of the Christian faith. What shall be done to make this condition of things as little to be regretted and as little awkward as possible?

I may say that the Government of the United States is not likely to forget that a missionary has the rights of an individual, and that while we do not bring the power of the state actively into the advocacy of the Christian system, we cannot consent that that power shall be exercised anywhere against our people who are its adherents, because of their religion, or that they shall be subjected to abuse for this reason. We accord freedom of conviction to all within our borders; and within the bounds of a just discretion, we appeal to all mankind to favour the same principle.

But there is always this just discretion to be observed, whether it be on the part of the state, the officer, or the missionary. The missionary of right views would not readily pardon the officer who should fail to grasp a given case in all its bearings, and should by the exercise of undue zeal, or undue caution, jeopardise his work. The liberal Christian desires only that the state shall give the religious element an open opportunity. And so in turn the state and the officer may ask the missionary to have some of the "wisdom of the serpent," to be forbearing and long-suffering, to avoid places which are dangerous, to deal respectfully with cherished beliefs, erroneous though they be, and generally to carry on his work with such good management, good feeling, and tact, as to arouse the least possible animosity, and to draw the Government as little as may be into the arena of discussion and conflict.

This letter has, then, this purpose, to represent to the missionary the ground which his Government and its officers may rightfully take. It is a plea that they shall not embarrass us unduly, and that they shall yield to us consideration as they expect it from us, to the end that the best results for all may be worked out.

I wish you to call together the missionaries at your port and to

read this letter to them, or to bring it to their attention in some convenient way, and to say that I shall be glad to receive an expression of their views upon the subject, to be communicated to me in such manner as you and they may see fit.

I add a word to yourself as to the course to be taken in missionary troubles. Be content in searching out the facts and in putting these before the native authorities. Make no explicit demands for this or that mode of settlement. Deal with all cases as if the authorities were well disposed, and with patience, avoiding in every way all that is likely to cause unnecessary irritation. Procure settlements as promptly as possible, and do not scrutinise the terms over-rigidly. Refer as few cases as possible for the action of the legation, but keep it fully informed of each step of your procedure. In fact, exercise on your part at all points that discretion and tact which we ask from the missionaries, and for the lack of which no officer can be entirely excused.

You are at liberty to give a copy of this letter to any one wishing it. In doing so, however, it must be understood that it is not open for publication.

GEORGE F. SEWARD.

APPENDIX B

THE BRITISH MINISTER AND BRITISH MISSIONARIES IN CHINA

THE following circular letter addressed by the late British Minister, Sir Ernest M. Satow, G.C.M.G., in August 1903, to all H.B.M. Consular officers in China was, by the wish of his successor, Sir J. N. Jordan, published for general information in the Shanghai *Daily News* for 1st November 1906.

Circular

H.B.M. LEGATION, PEKING,
31*st August* 1903.

SIR,—Cases have come to my notice in which missionaries have addressed themselves directly to Chinese officials, either verbally or in writing, on behalf of their Chinese converts, instead of acting through the proper channel, which is one of H.M. Consuls or the head of H. M. Legation.

Such intervention, I presume, would be defended on the ground that some action has been taken in regard to the convert which is in violation of Article VII. of the Treaty of Tientsin.

It is necessary, however, to point out that missionaries are not accredited agents of the British Government for the enforcement of the Treaty, and Article VIII. was not intended to confer upon missionaries any right of intervention on behalf of native Christians.

I do not see any objection to a missionary addressing the local Chinese authorities directly on any matter affecting himself personally, such as for instance a robbery that has been committed at his house, or any similar private affair.

If, however, a missionary has to complain on behalf of himself that his teaching is interfered with, or that a Chinese preacher or convert has been interfered with or persecuted, his proper course is to lay the facts before the Consul of the district in which he resides, who after due examination will make such representation to the Chinese authorities as the case may require.

His Majesty's Consuls are not authorised to delegate their duties in this respect to missionaries.

I have reason to know that this view is shared by the managing bodies of British Protestant Missionary Societies who carry on

mission work in China, and I understand that it is accepted and acted on by most of the missionary bodies in China.

The fact that a missionary or the convert on whose behalf a complaint is made resides at a distance from one of H.M. Consuls is not sufficient reason for the missionary taking upon himself the duty of the Consul, and his intervention could only be justified when there was imminent danger of an extreme character threatening the safety of converts.

I have accordingly to request you to act upon what is laid down in this Circular, and to acquaint missionaries with its contents whenever it seems likely to be departed from.

I am persuaded that if missionaries uniformly refrain from direct intervention on behalf of native Christians, and confine their action to representing to H.M. Consuls cases of actual persecution, such a course will redound to the preservation of peace between converts and non-converts, and to the spread of a genuine Christianity among the people of China,—I am, etc.,

(Sgd.) Ernest Satow.

APPENDIX C

THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT AND MISSIONS IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

By Ds. J. W. Gunning.

On answering the question of Commission VII., most of the Dutch Missionary Associations will doubtless refer to the work of the Missionary-Consul, Dr. C. W. Th. Baron van Boetselaer van Dubbeldam, at Batavia. The institution of this function, and the way in which it works, characterise in a most peculiar way the relations of the Dutch Government towards Missions and of Missions towards the Government.

As a Colonial power the Netherlands have always been favourably disposed towards Missions. During the 17th and 18th centuries the Colonies were entirely ruled by the East India Co., and as the Church at home belonged to the State, the East India Co. regarded it as its duty to look after the spiritual welfare not only of its functionaries in the Colonies, but also of the natives. In this it entirely followed the example given by the State at home. And although, alas! the advantages of commerce soon occupied a more important position than this spiritual welfare, still it is a fact that out of the 350,000 native Christians in the Dutch Colonies, 100,000 at least are the outcome of the mission work in the days of the East India Company.

When this Company was dissolved in the beginning of the 19th century, and the Government became master of its possessions, the separation of the Church and State at home was already an accomplished fact. In East India nevertheless this principle was not maintained. The Protestant or Reformed Church continues to be the Church of the State over there, in the sense that her ministers, both those who have the care of the Europeans as well as those who look after the natives, are state functionaries. And as after the erection of missionary associations one of these (the Netherlands Missionary Society) was obliged in consequence of financial trouble to transfer all its native Christians to the care of the Protestant State Church, we meet with the peculiar circumstance that in Dutch East India the care of the greatest number of native Christian Churches is not in the hands of Missions, but of the Government. Whether this state of things will soon change cannot as yet be apprehended. It is not impossible, and would in any case be desirable, that the Government would soon apply the same rule there as it does at

home, viz. to limit itself by giving financial aid to these Churches without in any way interfering with their private affairs.

This has always been the principle of the Government with regard to Missionary Societies. Undoubtedly by making a special permit obligatory for missionaries, it has reserved to itself the right of forbidding Missions in certain districts. But this restriction is only a continuation of the policy adhered to in the days of the East India Company. This Company limited its work of the propagation of the Gospel to the heathen, and carefully avoided all propagation amongst Mohammedans, fearing to rouse fanaticism amongst them. And by making this special permission obligatory for missionaries the Government has doubtless wished to reserve to itself the right of prohibiting all undesirable propagation amongst Mohammedans also in the future. We may however remark in passing that it is more and more evident, that this fear of rousing fanaticism is ungrounded; but notwithstanding this, the maintenance of the restriction continues desirable, as the Government keeps the power in hand to prevent missionaries of different denominations from working on the same field.

In all other respects the Government gives the Missionary Societies perfect liberty in their manner of working. Not a few, especially among the chief functionaries, acknowledge the use of Missions, and aid them according to their best abilities. Where difficulties have arisen, it was chiefly owing to anti-Christian sympathies among the lesser functionaries and occasionally to the want of tact in one of the missionaries.

Lately however we may notice a great change in the general appreciation, for Missions are acknowledged not only as an important factor towards civilising the natives, but as equally indispensable with regard to the economic development of the Colonies.

The cause of this change is partly due to the great difficulties experienced whenever one wishes to follow a truly ethical policy towards the natives. One feels more and more the great gulf that separates a European nation from an Indonesian. The best measures taken with the purest intentions are entirely misunderstood, and the result is often precisely the contrary to what was intended. The natives are afraid of the Government functionaries, and dare not express their true wishes to them. Besides which the great number of languages and dialects spoken in our Colonies make it well-nigh impossible for these functionaries, who are often transferred to other parts, ever to be sufficiently at home in any of these languages. They are therefore obliged to make use of rarely reliable, and often incapable interpreters. The missionary however is much nearer to the natives who trust him, and whom he learns to know much better than is ever possible to a functionary.

There are still other reasons why Missions are an indispensable adjunct to the Government. As one gets to know the Indonesian peoples better, more and more the conclusion is drawn that to them religion and State are one inseparable whole. Our Government wishes to keep up a neutral position towards their religious

life, but continually the impossibility of this is clearly set forth. By interfering with the social and political life of the natives, the Government touches on their religious life and impairs it. The question even seems justified whether the Government would have a right to enforce the propagation of Christianity. Of course it is impossible for the State to do so, and the ambassadors of the Gospel would be the last to wish it. Still it is most important for the Government that the native population should be brought under truly religious influence, and it is here where the missionary steps in. Therefore it is an act of sensible policy for the Government to give financial aid to all mission work that is more or less on neutral grounds. We refer to schools, craft-schools, training schools for native helpers, hospitals, etc. The Dutch East Indian Government aids all these most liberally, and is even inclined to do more. In general there are fixed rules for this support, allowing the Missionary Societies to know what to expect when they wish to erect schools or hospitals. We can state that since the last ten years they have rarely been refused any such on appeal to the Government, and this aid is even becoming more and more systematic. It often happens that Government functionaries give the missionaries moral support, by honouring them publicly, or by inducing the natives to send their children to their schools, or to confide themselves to their medical treatment. In some parts school attendance has even become obligatory. Of course as we said before, it may still occur occasionally that missionaries experience trouble from the lesser functionaries who may be ill-disposed towards Christianity, or jealous of the missionary's influence on the natives, but complaints on these subjects have always been attended to in higher quarters, and soon mended matters.

This state of things is partly the cause and partly the result of the creation of our Missionary Consulate.

APPENDIX D

MISSIONARIES AND THEIR ASSERTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

NOTE BY REV. DR. BARBOUR.

IN indicating the judgment to which on the whole I am inclined, I would note the following considerations :—

I. The supreme law controlling missionary work is plainly disclosed in the teaching of our Lord. It is that of service—of denial of self—of readiness to sacrifice personal rights, to forgive wrong, to suffer loss, to endure hardship, to lay down one's life, if thereby one's service to one's fellow-men may be promoted. Our Lord did not hesitate to press this principle to the extreme limit : "Resist not evil." "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." "Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." We must believe that this sublime teaching is not visionary or obsolete, but has a real and permanent significance — that it indicates for all men a supreme moral ideal, and is binding upon all men in all lands and at all times. The principle should not fail of a shining exemplification in the work of Christian missions. This enterprise should share in the moral sublimity of the teachings and character of its author. The success of the enterprise will be proportioned to the degree in which this spirit, enjoined and exemplified by Christ, is reincarnated. "I could kill some of you if I chose, but I do not wish to do so," said Dr. George Y. Taylor as he looked down, with rifle in hand, from the window of his home upon the mob at Paotingfu. A cross erected in one of the Melanesian Islands bears the inscription, "In memory of John Coleridge Patteson, Missionary Bishop, whose life was here taken by men for whom he would gladly have given it."

II. While this general law is universal, determination of its relation to practical issues in human conduct is at times a difficult task. The New Testament in its moral teaching characteristically presents principles rather than precepts; the passages quoted from the "Sermon on the Mount" offer only the appearance of an exception to this rule, since it is obvious that they are to be regarded, not as precepts proper, but as the presentation of a general principle under the rhetorical form of precept adopted for the sake of vividness and force. It is apparent that while true precepts, like the statutory provisions of civil law, give exact

definition to human duties, moral principles, however clearly revealed, are not thus precise and simple. Rather, one obligation is affected by another. The principle embodied in the injunction, "Resist not evil," is to be applied in the light of other obligations. Offenders must be restrained and punished, alike for their own good and in the interest of protection for the weak and promotion of civil order. Four conspicuous obligations obviously affect a normal interpretation of the law of non-resistance :—

1. Consideration for the true well-being of those contemplating or guilty of wrong.

2. Fidelity to the instinct of self-preservation by which the trust of life, with which is bound up our possibilities of service for the world, is guarded.

3. The duty of affording protection to those threatened with injury.

4. The obligation to assist in the maintenance and promotion of social order.

It is apparent that these limitations upon the rule of non-resistance do not contravene, but are rather included in, the great law of self-denying service ; but they must be of very vital bearing upon decision of the practical issues of human conduct.

III. The example of our Lord himself and that of his apostles support the position that limitations are to be recognised in the application of the law of non-resistance. The Master held his adversaries in check on the brow of the hill at Nazareth. On the night of his betrayal he protected his disciples by such evidently purposed revelation of his majesty as sent his adversaries to the ground, following up this disclosure of his power by the words, "If ye seek me, let these go their way." He virtually appealed to Pilate to be true to his official responsibility (John xix. 11. "Official power is a trust from heaven ; hence the enormity of the crime —'greater sin'—which the ruler Caiaphas already had committed"). He taught respect for the responsibilities and loyal support of the administration of earthly governments. The Apostle Paul resorted to at least three forms of self-protection—secret withdrawal from a position of peril, acceptance of the protection of government, appeal to government for the protection legally due him. In this last form of appeal, apparently he asked as a Christian and a missionary all that belonged to him as a Roman.

IV. I am convinced that the missionary should seek protection in case of peril, and that he should accept and—as a rule having very few exceptions—should, if necessary, seek whatever protection is legally due him from the local government and from his own government. Acceptance of military protection by missionaries in the siege of Peking presents an obviously extreme, but genuine, illustration of this right and duty. While death is to be accepted fearlessly, if inevitable, and the adoption of unmanly devices for preserving life is to be avoided, it is doubtful if any real or permanent gain is realised by sacrifice of life when this could be averted by resort to legal safeguards.

APPENDIX E

THOUGHTS ON THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RELIGIOUS AND THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY.

Note by Professor Haussleiter, D.D., Halle.

All forms of government which have arisen in non-Christian territory demand certain religious performances from their subjects. But Christ drew a sharp distinction between the kingdom of the Emperor and the Kingdom of God (Matt. xxii. 21). The modern conception of a State rests upon this distinction, without the learned theorists of political philosophy ever being conscious of whence this fundamental principle comes.

A. A modern State demands no definite religious confession from any one, but it does demand from all its citizens a certain amount of principle and practice of a moral nature, namely, the fulfilment of duty, fairmindedness, harmony of thought, patriotism. The modern State allows the freest development to all communities in which these qualities are cultivated. But according to experience this occurs most permanently in those cases where the personal responsibility of the individual is based on religion. The root of morality is the fear of God. Therefore the granting of religious freedom to the Christian Churches is to the interest of the State itself. But where it finds a religion characterised by features which endanger the life, the personal freedom, and the property of its subjects, the State has the right and is in duty bound to interfere by regulations and prohibition. For instance, it must be continually reminded of its duty to protect and care for the natives in such questions as those of slavery, the abuse of alcohol, suttee, the exposure of children, etc., more especially as the States possessing colonies have publicly acknowledged these principles in treaties (Congo Act, 1885; Brussels Act, 1890).

On the other hand, the State must also determine the time when a Christian custom which has at first grown up within a limited area can be imposed as a law upon whole races and peoples. The State grants the right of settling in its colonies and the free exercise of their religion to all Christian missionaries, but it also sees to it that the adherents of the Mission observe the laws of the land and co-operate in the administration of justice.

Like the Church at home, the Missions in the colonies are the *conscience* of the State, but the modern State places restraint

upon the Church and also on the Mission, which prevents the messengers of the Gospel from trying to extend the Kingdom of God with physical force. The State can tolerate no fully organised ecclesiastical state in its midst, which might dispute its earthly supremacy. Christ said : " My Kingdom is not of this world."

Church and State should, however, join in intelligent co-operation in different directions, especially in the training and education of the young.

B. The question is quite a different one, when it concerns heathen or Mohammedan authorities. These will in the first place try everywhere completely to exclude the Mission, or at any rate to make it serve their own ends.

By openly combating idolatry, superstition and immorality, and at the same time acknowledging, honouring, and assisting the lawful claims of every kind of authority, the Gospel acts as leaven. Those in power are obliged to decide for themselves, whether the missionaries can free themselves from the setting of the mere observances of worship and can adopt the conception of their office as being one of service, or whether they insist on maintaining at all costs their former position which was based on a usurpation of the Divine power.

Thus a secondary result of Missions is the introduction of an element not merely of social but also of political revival amongst non-Christian peoples. The Church must therefore all the more earnestly strive to preserve its spiritual character. Although its representatives and messengers may have personal wishes and hopes for their nation, their calling demands that they should be the most faithful and unselfish friends of the people amongst whom they live and work. When they have learnt to carry out the policy of the Kingdom of God in humble service, they must be above the ever-changing methods of earthly statecraft.

Protestant Missions are so adaptable that they should be able to suit themselves to every kind of circumstance, but at the same time they must be as consistent as the magnetic needle, which never deviates from its proper position.

Protestant Churches do not form an ecclesiastical community which binds them all in one definite union, but yet they are joined in living unity of mind and acknowledge one another.

Christ's flock in this era is enclosed in many different folds, but all his sheep drink from the same well of living water. In this fact lies the secret of their inner unity of spirit and of their power.

PRESENTATION

AND

DISCUSSION OF THE REPORT

At the Meeting of the Conference,
on Monday, 20th June 1910

Considerations of space have made it necessary to abbreviate the speeches made in the Discussion. In doing this, the attempt has been made to preserve everything that sheds fresh light on the subjects considered in the Report. In some instances the speeches have not been well reported, and this has necessitated the omission of certain sentences. It has not been found possible to send the report of the speeches to those who delivered them for their revision.

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE REPORT

Mr. JOHN R. MOTT in the Chair.

Right Hon. Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH, President of the Conference and Chairman of Commission VII., said: The arrangement that we have come to amongst ourselves is this: The time reserved for members of Commission will be occupied by the laying on the table of the Report by Dr. Seth Low, and one or two other speakers will take part in the opening explanation of the Report. It has been my wish, and I hope it will prove to the convenience of the Conference, that I should not occupy time myself in speaking at this stage, but perhaps a few moments will be reserved for me at the end if I should have to reply to any comment during the discussion.

The Hon. SETH LOW, LL.D., of New York, Vice-Chairman of the Commission, said: In presenting this Report on behalf of Commission VII. I wish first of all to express the very hearty thanks of the Commission to the missionaries and to the Mission Boards that have made it possible to submit this document. We have received on every side the most cordial and hearty co-operation and we are very thankful. At the only joint meeting of the Commission which was possible, held at the opening of last week, a few changes were made in the text as printed, not of sufficient importance to be called to the attention of the Conference in detail, I think, but all tending to make a little more clear the fact that a very strong moral right may exist where no legal right has yet been established.

Very early in our proceedings it became clear that it would be impossible to discuss this question as a whole without considering the conditions that prevail in every country in which Missions are conducted, for the differences of condition are so great that no general rule is applicable. Therefore the British Executive Committee very kindly have made themselves responsible for the first part of the Report, which is really a photograph or a description of current conditions as they are to be found in

the missionary field, not as they are imagined to be by the members of this Commission, but as they are reported to be by our correspondents who have exact knowledge of the field. As one of the American members of the Commission, may I stop long enough to say that I appreciate the extreme candour of the British members in their treatment of the conditions in Egypt and the Sudan in particular? We all know that it is very easy to criticise other Governments. It is not always easy to criticise our own; and if our British members have felt it necessary to speak plainly on conditions existing in the Sudan, in Egypt, and in some other places under the control of the British Government, I feel very sure that if their words give pain they are certainly the wounds of a friend. I think that no one can read this Report without having impressed upon him very strongly a sense of the high ideals that dominate not only the missionaries in the field, but the Mission Boards which send them there. This Report deals with some acute and very delicate questions, questions that affect very strongly living persons, and yet I think you will not find in any one of the numberless letters that we have received a single false note. There is not always exact agreement—that is natural, but I think there is not anywhere the display of anything but a high ideal of what is due from Christian men.

Now in discussing the Report, or in asking your attention to some special points in it, I am reminded of what I used to be taught in college, that there is no theory so perfect but that in its application to human affairs it does not have to be modified. We have tried as a Commission to develop and to state the principles which seem to us to be deducible from what we have been told from missionary sources, the principles that ought to govern the relations of Missions and Governments; but I confess that when we have done it, we are obliged to admit to ourselves that the wisdom of Captain Bunsby has great force. The point of these principles is in their application. For instance, one of the questions that we discussed was the question of indemnity for loss of life or property. How can you state any principle which would apply the world over in that regard? In Japan, for example, you have a highly ordered Government that has given freedom of conscience. In China you have a Government which is affected still by extra-territoriality, and while the Chinese Government has granted by treaty freedom of conscience to its citizens it is one thing to put it in a treaty and another thing to grant it to the people with public approval. In India you have a well-established Christian Government well controlled. It is quite possible that in India the obligation to help the Government to sustain good order, and to maintain high principles of responsibility on the part of the community, would make it not only proper but desirable to accept indemnity for loss of property, whereas in China it might very easily be that while the legal right would be

the same it would be a far wiser policy on the part of the mission Board and the missionary to forego such claims for damages. Few missionaries anywhere think that indemnity should be accepted for loss of life. In other words, it seems to us that St. Paul's rule is the only rule to apply to that question and others of the same class. "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient."

Now when it comes to the question of extra-territoriality, we have it in China, we have it in Turkey. In China the Government is highly sensitive upon that point, and I think it is substantially the unanimous opinion of the missionary Mission Boards and of the missionaries that it is very rarely if ever wise for the missionary to take advantage of his undoubted legal right to appeal to extra-territoriality, but in Turkey on the other hand the Moslem seems to believe that it is due to his dignity that any complaints should come through the Consul of the nation whose missionary complains. There again you see that while the rule of law may be the same in each case, the teachings of expediency are diametrically opposed.

There is one other point on which, however, the missionaries are absolutely at one, and that is that everywhere a missionary is under a moral obligation to abstain entirely from politics. There is absolutely no exception, I think, to the expression of that opinion, and I am quite confident that this Conference will share it. I pointed out last night what seems to me one of the most remarkable features of the Report, the fact that Japan, a non-Christian country, has conceded to its citizens by law freedom of conscience. I think it is the only non-Christian country that has as yet done so, in an effective way; for we have no information which leads us to believe that the disagreements between the missionaries and the Government in Japan have been anything serious.

In our Report we have some eight findings or general conclusions of the Commission; and I have been asked to say a single word about the first, the second, and the eighth. The first point is the recognition of our gratitude to God for the large amount of mutual helpfulness found to exist between so many Missions and the Governments within whose territories they work; and the record of our conviction that, as the unselfish aims and beneficent results of Missions are being more widely appreciated, the good understanding between Missions and Governments is increasing. We do not say that it is perfect everywhere; we do not say that it may not, in spots, have changed for the worse; but that it is improving is distinctly the impression that the Commission has gained from the total correspondence that we have had.

The second finding is, that we think the friends of Missions are entitled to ask all Christian Governments that they should use their good offices with those of other nations for the free admission and exercise of missionary endeavour where such admission is not now granted; and further, we urge that such interposition

may be justified to the Governments, not on grounds of religion, but upon the broad ground of humanity, on account of the proved beneficent influence of Missions and upon the common right of mankind to receive such benefits. It would not be necessary for an American at home, but it may be desirable for me to say here, that in the United States, where the Church and State are entirely separate, we have no right to ask our Government to favour Missions as such. But we have every right to ask the Government to favour Missions as much as it favours commerce, and I am happy to say that our Government does that. We have every right, also, to urge upon our Government the point of view presented in this finding, that Missions have so far shown their beneficence that every country may be asked to aid missionaries, and to ask the co-operation of our Government in bringing about that consummation.

The eighth finding is the preparation of a statement of principles. We have done the best we could in formulating the principles affecting Missions and Governments that it seems to us ought to prevail in the mission field. We have become very sensible of the fact that such a statement of principles, if generally accepted, may often be useful. Because, while there are exceptions to every rule, as I have pointed out, it is nevertheless often very advantageous to have at one's hand the statement of the rule even if one must take exception to it in a particular case. We have thought that such a statement is so desirable that it might be worth while for this Conference, if it sees fit, to take the proper steps to have such a statement prepared by entirely competent persons, and then to submit it to the different Missionary Societies. When approved by them, I am very sure that such a document would be useful both to missionary Boards and to missionaries in the field. This finishes the part that has been assigned to me.

The discussion opened with the consideration of the findings of the Commission on the following points :—

(1) Harmonious Relations of Missions and Governments.
(2) The Right of Entry for Christian Missions.

Pastor A. Boegner, D.D. (Director of the Paris Missionary Society): As representative of the Paris Missionary Society I have first of all to express our deep thankfulness for the kind attitude of the British Government of South Africa towards our Mission. If Basutoland is now what it is, a prosperous nation, making steady progress and being a leaven for the whole of South Africa, this result is due to the friendly co-operation of French missionary effort and of wise and liberal British administration.

The second thing I have to say on the subject is not so easy

and I must appeal, in order to be able to tell it, to your Christian kindness and sympathy. France has been during long centuries a Catholic nation, more than that, the very champion of the Roman Church. Some seventy years ago a French minister of State, who was himself a Protestant, said: "France abroad means Catholicism." Now things are changed; France is no more officially a Catholic nation, and officially the French colonies are open to all Missions. But, practically, much of the ancient idea is still existing in the minds of officials, and for some of them foreign missionaries in French colonies are rather an undesired element. Hence a difficult situation of which several of you know something. What is to be done? The first thing is that we, French Protestants, have to do all that is in our power to keep the door open to the Gospel, to enlarge it, and thus to secure to our colonies the benefit of every missionary effort which has been and may be made on their behalf. This, I can assure you, *we have done* until now, both at home and in the colonies, and we will do the same in the future. The second remedy is in your hands. You,—I mean the British, American, and Norwegian missionaries at work in our colonies,—you must not lose courage. I tell you: *stay*. Be patient, be gentle with the officials, adapt yourselves to the necessities and you will live out the difficulties, Augagneur was an exception. He was not the enemy of foreigners but the enemy of Christianity. He has done more harm to us than to you. Stay, and better days will come. But I must point to one thing more; it is the present state of things which is the outcome of the former attitude of France concerning foreign missions in French colonies. I call your attention to it most earnestly. Look at the missionary map of the world. Which are the blackest portions of it? The French colonies. Not one missionary in the French Sudan, not one missionary in the Upper French Congo State. In the whole French Indo-China, one single evangelical missionary in Laos. On the other hand, look at that handful of men and of Churches, at that minority in the minority, which is all that French protestantism is! This Conference is a *world conference*. The organisers of it, the leaders of it, the members of it claim to have a world-wide horizon; they claim to embrace in their hearts and in their thoughts the whole field and the whole world. I leave on their minds this problem: How can—such being the work, such being the workers,—how can, how will the work be done?

Colonel Robert Williams, M.P. (Church Missionary Society, London): I desire to say a very few words on Findings 2 and 3 of the Report, especially as regards the action of the British Government at the present time in Egypt and in Northern Nigeria. I once had the privilege of hearing Lord Curzon say in relation to an incident that happened in Calcutta, "I am above all things

anxious that it should be realised that the Government of India is a Christian Government," and I think it is a saying which is apt to be forgotten at the present time in Egypt. I realise the fact that England is not governing Egypt; we are only administering Egypt for the Egyptian Government, but none the less is our responsibility as a Christian nation the same as if we administered it for the British Government. We ought not therefore to adopt principles of Egyptian national thought which are repugnant to Christianity. We must remember that we are Christians first and administrators for the Egyptian Government afterwards, and although I know that the difficulties of Mohammedanism are great, that there is a recrudescence among the Mohammedans, that there is an increase of missionary spirit in Mohammedanism which is making them formidable opponents of Christian people in the race to dominate the heathen peoples of Africa, yet at the same time I cannot forget the saying of an old Indian General when just after the Indian Mutiny he established a Christian Mission and helped the Christian Mission in the most fanatical city in all India, and they remonstrated with him upon the danger; his answer was, "We are always safer if we do our duty than if we neglect it." The same thing applies very much to the attitude of Governments towards the Missions in Northern Nigeria. I hold, and I think many Christian people hold with me, that they were ashamed that it could be possible for a Christian Governor, a Governor of a Christian State, to say that a missionary could not enter any city in Northern Nigeria until the permission of the Mohammedan Emir had been obtained. I do want to impress upon all the Christian people of England—and my message to-day, of course, is mostly to us who are of British race and British opinion—that it is time that Christian opinion made itself felt, that we ought to declare that this view of Mohammedanism is entirely a mistaken one, that after all our position in the world is very largely due to the fact that we have gone with an open Bible and a professed Christianity wherever we have gone, and that it is our duty as a Christian nation to run considerable risks to still carry the open Bible wherever it is wanted, and allow no Governor, no political leader, whether he is a Mohammedan Emir in West Africa or anywhere else, to stop our missionaries going where they are asked to go, accepting invitations from those who are hungering for the word of life, that we may give them the true principles of Christianity which, thank God, have made us what we are.

Rev. J. M. DUNCAN (Presbyterian Church of Canada): I wish in three minutes to put a case to this Conference and to ask a question. The case is this: the Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church of Canada of which I had the honour to be a member has a Mission in certain Native States in India under the protec-

torate of the British Government. In one of these States mission schools have been closed by the order of the native ruler. No property can be acquired for mission purposes, no mission schools can be carried on in that State. That is the case. The question I wish to ask is this: whether this Conference or the Commission which is reporting this morning or some Commission to be appointed by this Conference may not be able to bring such influence to bear upon the native ruler of that State—and I think it is not an isolated case in India—to the end that our missionaries may have the same rights to acquire property and to carry on the mission work in that protected State as they have in countries where the British Government have treaty relations.

Right Hon. Lord REAY, G.C.S.I. (London): I wish to speak from personal experience with regard to this question, and of course I speak from the point of view of the Government. Now the Government in India is bound to maintain liberty of worship to all sections of the community and to remain perfectly neutral. That neutrality, however, is perfectly compatible with the Christian profession of the rulers of the country, and I may tell you that such profession does not weaken but strengthen the influence of the Government of India. There is not the slightest doubt that the natives appreciate those who do not shirk in their lives and in their official duties their faith. Now Government has a friendly attitude towards Missions, but the strength of Missions is in their voluntary character. If missionaries were in any way to be considered to be Government servants that would weaken their efficiency. As loyal subjects obedient to the laws of the country, and also and in the first place as servants of Christ, they have an independent status which greatly adds to their influence. Friendly intercourse between officials and missionaries is of the utmost importance, and I can assure you that that friendly intercourse is the rule, not the exception. The aid which missionaries can give to the Government is invaluable. I shall only mention in the matter of education two names. The services which have been rendered to the educational department of India by Dr. Miller and by my friend Dr. MacKichan are invaluable, and the knowledge which the Missions obtained of the needs and the prejudices and the idiosyncrasies of the people are in many ways of importance to the Government. Through the system of grants-in-aid to educational schools and colleges the Government gives valuable support to missionary effort, and that system of grants-in-aid to voluntary institutions is one which I consider to be of the utmost importance and that it should be carefully maintained in India. Now, to give you an instance of my relations with the missionaries, I received on one occasion from the missionaries at a certain place information that there was considerable risk of drought. I immediately went to that place and had a

conference with the missionaries, and as I was leaving the place the rain fell; and I need not tell you what the impression was on the natives of the place, and how it added to the influence of the Government. Missionaries in India, I consider, are auxiliaries of Government, and the more the Government enters into friendly connections with them and the more missionary effort in India is in some way centralised—that is to say, in India we should have a central Board of the various Missionary Societies to enter into official communication with the Government—that would for the Government and for the missionaries be, I believe, of very great importance. Now I need not tell you that Government considers that it is its duty to protect native Christians, native Christian Churches, and let me add that I trust we shall see some day in India a national Indian Church with a development on its own lines, under our own guidance of course, but that guidance is perfectly compatible with the utmost independence and self-government of the native Church. I must now stop, but I can only in addition tell you that among my most pleasant reminiscences of my Government in India, are my relations with the Missionary Societies of all nations and of all kinds.

Dr. C. C. Wang (London Missionary Society, Shanghai): Let me acknowledge the perfection and precision of this Report, dealing with the relations between Missions and Governments. I wish to emphasise certain points and to point out certain dangers which may arise if sufficient and careful attention is not directed to them. Let it be understood from the very first and once for all, that China has her religions and a *Government* to which loyalty, respect, and justice should be given by all Chinese, Christians or non-Christians, as well as by European, American, and Japanese Powers. The Chinese Government should uphold her rights to dictate to her subjects and not to be dictated to by the Foreign Powers. The reason why I emphasise this point will be found immediately. The object of my presence here is of a twofold nature. In the first place as a true Chinese subject I wish to uphold and to protect the rights of the Chinese Government, in the second place as a true Christian I wish, for the interest and welfare of the missionaries, to direct your attention particularly to the avoidance of adopting harsh and irritating means in dealing with matters which bear a relationship between missionaries and the Chinese Government. In the subdivision on "Missionary appeals for Intervention" I wish to draw your attention to the last paragraph. Time and again we find that missionaries, having heard of a rumour of an anti-foreign or anti-Christian movement, hastily and too prematurely took up steps to call in the "Powers," either rightly or wrongly, to use measures to suppress agitations, perhaps only too forcibly, or at other times rationally or irrationally, to constrain the Chinese Government to go against her

subjects. Cases have been known in China of innocent persons to a particular act, who, though they might have been perhaps notorious habitual felons, have actually been executed for a particular crime committed against the missionaries, with the simple intention on the part of the Chinese Government of satisfying and relieving the pressure brought upon them by the Foreign Powers whose attitude has oftentimes been instigated by missionaries. My point is to urge missionaries to refrain from the administration and utilisation of such extra-territorial privileges as are possessed by foreigners in matters of a precarious nature. The more you fall back on these resources, the weaker you show yourselves to be in your belief and trust in God, who is after all the King of kings, the Supreme Minister of Justice. To emphasise more fully the danger of calling in the Powers I will give you an illustration. A year or two ago I accidentally saw in a Chinese paper a cartoon of a foreigner stepping on to the shores of the Chinese coast with a Bible in the one hand and an opium poppy in the other hand, and behind him at his back was a fleet of foreign battleships on the alert to obey order to fire. A moment's consideration of this cartoon will convince you of the complications accruing from reliance on your physical and instrumental might. The defence of Christianity is not with the sword, as Christ clearly said in St. Matthew, chap. xxvii. 52, "Put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." In the subject of "Justice for Chinese Christians" I venture to call upon you to note the extreme danger of running a hazard in extending your protection to Chinese Christians, for I consider a loyal subject is one who, independent of the help of a particular religion, abides within the laws of his or her country. I therefore hold that Protestant missionaries should not extend their protection to the Chinese Christians even in the most extreme cases, and that this fact should be clearly made known to the would-be converts from the very beginning before they are received into the Church. Allow me to point out the fallacious statements on the legal disabilities of Chinese Christians in the Report.[1] First statement: they cannot enter Government schools and colleges as students or teachers, since the adoration of Confucius is required of all such. From personal experience and as a matter of fact this is erroneous. I was a student in the Imperial Medical College at Tientsin, and I can name scores of Chinese Christians who are to-day either teachers or students in the various Government schools and colleges. Second statement: the diplomas and certificates of mission schools and colleges are not recognised. This statement should be verified, because under the regulations of the Board of Education in

[1] The statements criticised do not appear in the Report as finally revised by the Commission after the Conference.

Peking, all returned students from foreign lands with or without foreign diplomas or degrees intending to enter Government services and hold Government degrees must go through an examination in Peking. From this you will see, at once, that full recognition is not only refused in the case of the graduates of mission schools and colleges, but this also holds good for graduates of all universities and colleges outside the Chinese Empire. I furthermore wish to emphasise this much that it is a *right* of the Chinese Government to decide whether a certain diploma or certificate is to be recognised or not, according to its merits. Third statement: Christians are not put upon the electoral rolls. This is not in concurrence with known facts under my observation. It is true that certain Chinese Christians are deprived of this privilege, the reason being that this minority of Christians will insist on declining payment of taxes to the Government, which should be done by every good citizen, simply because they take up the position that they are Christians and that it is therefore contradictory for them to pay the various taxes which are to a certain proportion being used by the Government for the maintenance of Government temples, as is the case in the northern provinces of China. In the southern provinces of China things are of a brighter aspect, and I have never so far come across a case in which electoral privilege is refused simply on the ground that he is a Christian. Fourth statement: they cannot become officials. This is incorrect, for from family experience I can say I have a brother who is a Christian as well as a Chinese official, and I have known many Christians who are holding offices of State to-day which are of perhaps not sufficient importance to be in everybody's lips. But the fact remains good that Christians are not debarred from becoming officials. It is true that some Christians are rejected from the official rank on the ground that they refuse to observe the State ceremonies which they hold to be unholy, ridiculous, and perhaps seemingly in opposition to Christian ceremonies. Having laid before you plainly the superfluous nature of these four points in the Report regarding the legal disabilities of Chinese Christians, I now urge you not to be over anxious about the Chinese Christians, and that unnecessary devices should not be attempted towards the promotion of the social and political interests of the Chinese Christians, lest you should provoke public opposition and confusion of thought. Lastly, let me again warn you of the great mistake and un-Christ-like method in suggesting diplomatic pressure upon the Chinese Government in all matters. Christ died for us willingly and at the will of God. Every true Christian should therefore carry the Cross and not the Dreadnoughts to spread the Gospel to all lands.

Dr. T. Jays (Church Missionary Society, formerly in West

Africa): I want to bring to the notice of the Conference and to emphasise the attitude of the Government that was mentioned to us by Colonel Williams in Northern Nigeria. Dr. Miller wishes very much that it should be understood that the Government there, though nominally neutral, is really anything but neutral. He says that there is a real "open partizanship of Islam. Practically no attempt has been made in educational work, and that of Missionary Societies is looked at coolly or even thwarted. Bolstering up of Moslem duties, reviving of customs which have been allowed to lapse, gradual levelling up of pagan districts so as to accustom them to Islamic law, messengers from Moslem rulers, and persecutors, etc., all show the trend and make it obvious to Christian and pagan that the British Government has no use for either of them, but only for the Moslem." It is a recognised saying among pagans and among the Christians in that part of Africa that the Government is really favouring Mohammedanism, and the best thing to do is to become Moslems, otherwise they will get no roadmaking and no work. All the railway work has been put into the hands of Moslems. None of the pagans have been given that work, or very few if any. Dr. Miller writes with regard to the question of what the effect of this policy will be. He says that they do not understand that in openly lauding Mohammedanism and in keeping back the knowledge of Christianity from these people they are making for themselves a very serious difficulty in the future. He says that the hostile Mohammedans in the French districts around Lake Chad are being armed and taught how to use arms of precision, and if there was anything at all in the nature of a rising around Lake Chad in British territory, there is no question that if those people came into our territory then the Moslems would rise up and join them, and the only loyal people would be the Christians and the pagans who are influenced by the Christians of to-day. They do not see the extraordinary idiocy of developing the intellect and power of a man who will always be your enemy. We want to make a strong representation to this Government that the High Commissioner, a man who is in sympathy with our work, may be asked to see to it that fair play is given, that he may indeed follow out that great principle that righteousness (right-doing that is), exalteth a nation, whereas sin or wrong-doing bendeth the bone.

Dr. F. D. Shepard, American Board of Commissioners in Aintab, Turkey): It has been the policy of the few delegates to this Conference from Turkey to refrain from a discussion of the problems connected with missionary work in that land, but I wish to speak a very few words in appreciation of the attitude of the present Turkish Government. There has come a wonderful change over the Turkish Empire. After the massacre of fifteen years ago, those men who had leading parts in those

massacres were preferred to places of honour. No single individual was punished for any share he had in that work. Since the massacres in Adana some seventy men, many of them leaders of that bloody work, have undergone capital punishment for the crime. The Turkish Parliaments appropriated over £200,000 for relief of the sufferers, and to my knowledge at least £150,000 of it went to the right place. There may have been more that went to the right place. I am thankful that so little has been said about the missionary problems in Turkey and I do not propose to touch upon that point, but I do wish to lay upon the hearts and consciences of this great assembly, and through them upon the hearts and consciences of all Christendom, the duty, the privilege, the necessity, of prevailing prayer for Turkey, for the new national life in Turkey. Do not forget that this great problem, one of the greatest that confronts the missionary cause of the evangelisation of the Mohammedan world, must in very large part be met and settled in the Turkish Empire. I will not dwell upon that. We do not ask for talk or agitation. We do ask for men and means and we ask for your prayers and the prayers of all Christendom, that men and means may be forthcoming and that there should be a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit in that work in Turkey.

The Conference then joined in prayer on behalf of Turkey, led by the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham.

Pfarrer KÜFFNER (Neuen Dettelsauer Mission, Germany): I would like to call your attention for a few minutes to the largest island of the world, which has not been mentioned in the Reports —I mean the island of New Guinea north of the Continent of Australia. That part of the island which belongs to our German Empire was at first governed by the German New Guinea Company, which allowed our New Dettelsau Missionary Society in 1886, and soon after that also the Rhenish Society, to take up the work there. The Roman Catholic Mission was refused admission and the Protestant Societies had their own districts. But after New Guinea became a German colony with a Governor, the Roman Catholics were allowed to enter, and have caused by their interference much trouble to the Rhenish Society. The former regulation by the Company was more appreciated by us, by which it would have been impossible for the Roman Catholics to build up a Church just before the doors of a Protestant missionary station. Now I would like to make a statement. During the twenty-five years we have been working on the island, there has not occurred the slightest conflict between the Missions and the Government. Why? I think that is partly due to the fact that we are German Societies in a German colony. The Church of every land should take up missionary work in its own colonies

first, for they are not likely to be distrusted by the Government, as is most unfortunately the case, when missionaries of a foreign land are considered as emissaries of that Foreign Power. Our work, as I have already said, has been appreciated by our Government, though we have never received nor asked for a single penny from it for our schools. Our missionaries have ventured to penetrate into the land of cannibalism, and by the spiritual power of the Gospel have softened the wild minds of the warlike Papuas, so that many of them have been gathered into the Church of Christ. These have also become faithful subjects of the new Government, which would not have been able to exercise its power over them had it not been for the missionaries. Our relations to our Government are therefore altogether harmonious.

Rev. Arthur Grandjean (Swiss Mission Romande): I must apologise for speaking a second time in this Conference, but it seems to me that little Switzerland has perhaps a word to say on the question. I am speaking in the name of a Mission which has to work under two foreign Colonial Governments and which will never have to work under its own Government, for you are aware that Switzerland is fortunate enough to have no colonies of her own. We work in the Transvaal under British Government and in Delagoa Bay under Portuguese Government. Now, all that I have to say of the British Government is that we are getting on very well with it and have nothing to complain of, owing, I suppose, to the fact that we do our best to comply with their rules and to submit ourselves to the laws of the country. Now, how is it with the Portuguese Government? Well, for the present there is not much difference, except that we do not get a penny from the Portuguese, whereas, in the Transvaal, we receive grants-in-aid for our schools and for our hospital. I say, with that exception, there is not much difference. In our medical work there is no hindrance at all, because we take the trouble of sending our medical missionaries to Portugal to acquire a Portuguese medical diploma, just as we have sent our medical missionary working in the Transvaal to London to acquire a British medical diploma. In school work, too, we are getting on very well with the Government, because our missionaries speak and teach Portuguese, and follow in our schools a programme arranged in conference with the general Governor of the Province of Mozambique. This again is quite natural, and we have to do exactly the same in the British Colony of the Transvaal, where we have to teach English in the schools, and to accept the Government programme, and where the officials would be quite surprised if we were not able to speak English with them. Of course we had some trouble in getting our schools organised in such a way that they could satisfy the Government. As Portuguese was to be taught and as our native teachers of the interior knew only the

vernacular, we, of our own choice, shut our school of the interior for a few months and got all our teachers to Lourenço Marquez to be taught Portuguese. With the help of a professor put at our disposal by the Government and after an examination, forty out of fifty-four got a provisory diploma allowing them to open schools. Well, in the Transvaal, when the British Government organised schools, we had to do the same. The Government sends every year for a month or six weeks a school inspector to one of our stations, and all our teachers meet there to get English tuition, for which we are most thankful to the Government. Now, in conclusion, although it may seem to be very bold of me to do it, I feel moved to say a word of warning to our dear and powerful Anglo-Saxon friends. Germans will not say it to you; French will not say it; Portuguese are not here to say it, so the little Swiss man must say it, and from him, I am sure, you will receive it kindly. The word of warning is this: Do not expect everybody to speak your language, although it is fast becoming the universal language. Do not expect every Colonial Governor to be friendly to you when you address him in English. With us Swiss people you may do it and we shall try to answer in English if we can. But with other nations, especially in the colonies, it will not do. What you want for your colonies, other nations want for theirs. If you want your colonies to become English, the Portuguese want theirs to become Portuguese, and if you want the mission schools to be a means for promoting loyalty to England, Portugal too wants the mission schools to promote loyalty to Portugal. What the missionaries of all nations have to do in any colony is just to submit to common law, without aspiring for any privilege from the Colonial Governments.

Rev. Lars Dahle (Norwegian Mission): I shall just try to make a few remarks on the question how to create and how to conserve good relations between Missions and Governments, and in order to be short I shall try to put what I have to say in the form of definite rules. My first rule would be, my first advice to missionaries would be, do not occupy yourselves too much with trifles. It occurs very often in the course of missionary life out in the mission field that Government officials may do something you have good reason to complain of, but if it is only small things do not trouble about it, because if you complain every time you have reason for complaining they would think you were bothering them too much and you would lose the goodwill of the Government, and you want that for the big questions. My next rule is, do not be too hasty in your actions. You should bide your time, you and the time together, you know, would be a match for anything, and would work against and prove too much for your adversaries. There may, of course, be instances

where prompt action is quite necessary, but in many cases I have found as a missionary out in Madagascar that if you can let the Governor find out by himself that he has done wrong he will be very thankful to you for giving him the opportunity of correcting it himself. Then, if it comes to action, do try by all means to settle all difficulties with the subordinate Government representative in the district where you are, without bringing it up to higher authorities. The further you bring it, the more difficult and complicated it will be and the more ill-will you create in the mind of the Governor in the district where you are. It will be considered as a personal accusation against the official, and he will find means to repay it to you if you carry your point in the first question. Then I would say, if you are to bring a matter to the higher officials,—that should not be done by a single missionary, but by a leader of the Mission. I have seen difficulties arising from that. The single missionary comes up to the Central Government and brings his complaint before them, and the Government, after hearing the different complaints, says, "There is no unity in that Mission." You should always leave this matter to the mission leader, or you will probably make a mess of it. I would say next if the leader of a Mission has to bring the matter before the Central Government he should look carefully for the right season to do it. In Madagascar at least it is the case that the Government could not do two things at a time. If they are occupied in some other work, you should never bring your matter before them. Again, if you bring it before them, you should always be careful to act on the supposition of goodwill on their part, that you have only to explain what you think ought to be done to have it done. Maybe you have some misgivings about its being done, but do not let them appear. It is a very polite way of telling a man what he ought to do when you really act on the supposition that he is the very man who would do it. By all means do not be too ready to go to the Consul in affairs concerning the Government. That should be a last resort. It may be necessary sometimes, but very seldom if you act wisely, and if a missionary has come to that, that it can only be done by the influence of the Consul, he is done for. He had better pack up his luggage and go home. I would mention what the Prime Minister of Madagascar once said to me. He said, "You Norwegians have got no Consul here, but if you act up to the principles of the Bible we shall have no trouble with you." We wish to act up to the principles of the Bible; then let the Bible be our Consul.

The Conference then entered into the service of intercession.

After the Conference resumed, the following findings of the Commission were discussed :—

(3) Responsibilities of Christian Colonial Powers, and (4) Government Regulation of Missions.

Herr Oberverwaltungsgerichtsrat Berner (President of the Berlin Missionary Society and Private Counsellor of the German Colonial Government in Missionary Affairs): Finding 3 deals with responsibility for the right use of the enormous influence of both Governments and individuals over races of less developed civilisation and lower material power. No doubt everybody will agree with me that every white man must be possessed of a profound feeling of responsibility towards the indigenous races and individuals. At the same time, Missions are fully entitled to say that the prime duty of Christian Colonial Powers is the education and development of the natives in their protectorates. The German Colonial Government recognises that duty—as I can testify from my own experience—to its full extent. And I certainly believe that other Governments do the same, including, let us hope, the new Government of Belgium. Now, which is the best way for a Government to accede to the demands of Missions in so far as they are right and just? I take it that Missions themselves can assist Government in realising this duty. The paramount duty of civil Government is to maintain internal order; its authority must be upheld. Doubtless in all colonies the authority of Government and the political supremacy of the white are closely connected. Christians recognise civil authority, for there is no power but of God; and even if its conduct in a particular instance seems perverse, Christians will be subject not only to the good and gentle master but also to the froward. And so Missions must do, for a breach of laws and disobeying them may prove a source of danger to Governments as to Missions and nations. If missionaries cannot agree with the policy of the Government or of an individual official, I venture to advise them not to protest immediately in the press or at public meetings, but to seek a good understanding. A missionary should not act for himself but through his senior, and in serious cases it should go to his Home Board, where redress may more easily be obtained. At all events differences between Missions and Governments should be kept from the converts. Here I have to call your attention to the excellent experiment mentioned in the Report about the Dutch East Indies. There the various Dutch and the Rhenish Missions instituted the office of the Missions Consul, who resides at Batavia. He has to advise the Mission Boards and missionaries in all cases regarding the relations of Missions and Government. The Government also can ask his advice in all matters regarding mission work. In Germany a similar institution was created by the Reichskanzler about twenty years ago. At present I have the honour to fill this post on behalf of German

Evangelical Missions. My appointment is based on the confidence of both Government and Missionary Societies. I am neither under the Colonial Government nor am I commissioned by Missions; I am self-acting and independent. The correspondence from both sides goes through my hands, and I think that my mediation has often proved useful. But, of course, Missions are not bound to make use of my services. Missionaries, although they wish to estimate fairly the actions of Government officers, are not always able to judge the difficulties they have to contend with, especially in times of trouble. In this connection it should be mentioned that the strained relations between Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions often seriously hamper the action of Governments. From Protestant Missions it is expected that they should promote peace as much as possible, and I am glad to say they have done so generally. Happily in German East Africa within the last few years three or four times an understanding has been arrived at between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics as to fixing their respective borders for the next ten years; after that we may hope for a definite settlement. Now, so as to keep up a due sense of responsibility on the part of Government and at the same time to secure its sympathy with missionary effort, Missions can do much to bring about both ends, if they loyally support the effort of Government towards extending civilisation and culture. The best service Missions can render the Government is by education in useful knowledge and in forming Christian character. But I think Missions should not hurry on their pupils from the alphabet to a standard of the highest instruction, and should be careful that besides preachers and teachers, farmers, mechanics, artisans should be trained. Then again an important matter is Medical Missions. Government physicians and mission doctors are in manifold connections and work side by side. In medical missions, America and England are far ahead. I am very glad that in Germany the Staatssekretär of the Colonial Office gave a powerful and effective stimulus to medical missions, thus showing that in Government quarters there *is* a due sense of responsibility. You will agree with the Report in recognising the duty and right of civil authorities to lay such temporary restrictions and conditions on the movement and settlement both of their own nationals and of foreigners as are demanded in the interests of internal order and international peace. I personally agree also with the finding that it is not wise for the civil power to allocate for a long time or for ever areas of work to different Missions. On the other hand I am sure that Governments do not willingly shut up a mission field, except where they consider it inevitable. To exposed or dangerous places missions should not go, where they cannot settle first-class and tried men. Let me close by suggesting what I think the best prescription for all relations between Missions and Govern-

ment and for unanimity and co-operation of both. It is written by St. Peter in these words :—

Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the King.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Brent (Protestant Episcopal Church, U.S.A., Philippines): I would assert that it is as much the responsibility of Christian Colonial Governments to protect and promote public morals as it is the responsibility of the Christian Church itself. Christian Government is a part of the Kingdom of God, at least it is an instrument through which the Kingdom of God works. When the Commission says that it voices the feeling of missionaries and the supporters of Missions regarding the opium problem, it might have added with truthfulness that it voices also the feeling of every Christian Colonial Government in the world and of some non-Christian Governments. I am in some degree qualified to speak on this subject, because of having had some small share in drawing international attention to the subject. The originators of what has culminated in a world-wide movement were the Presbyterian and Methodist Missions in the Philippines. I say this not as a bishop of either the Presbyterian or Methodist Church, though I wish I were bishop of both as well as of my own. It is a great satisfaction to a careful student of the opium problem to find that the Commission has recognised the complexity of the problem concerned. There is no difference of opinion as to the ultimate fate of opium—it must be relegated solely to medical use. The question is one of the method of reaching the end, but there is one feature of this problem where immediate and drastic action can be taken, and I believe I am expressing the mind not merely of missionaries but of Governments when I say that the production and distribution of that most dangerous drug morphia must come under Government control in all the countries of the world, and there ought to be associated with morphia that equally dangerous drug cocaine. Great Britain and Holland especially have shown extreme generosity in allowing a question which most intimately concerns themselves to be brought before the Governments of the world in international committee. We all believe that China is sincere in its desire for the suppression of opium, and we are equally sure that the Government of Great Britain is sincere. We must not doubt it for one minute, and it is a mistake to suggest it either publicly or privately. I am speaking from full knowledge when I say what I do. The Government of Great Britain is extremely perplexed. It is a matter of peace in the great Empire of India. Great Britain is bound by certain obligations to the protected States in a way that makes it extremely difficult for her to move at this moment, but she is determined to move, I am convinced, and will move when she does in the right direction. I will just

say one word more of a general character. This treatment of great moral questions in an international way is only the foretaste of good things to come. There are mighty questions in the world to-day that can be settled only by international action, and the time is approaching when it will be possible for international Conferences to be called to share in the solution of such questions and to lead the world at least a step forward in the great march of moral progress.

Dr. CHARLES K. HARFORD: I stand before you to-day at the request of three national committees engaged in combating the liquor traffic as it affects the native races, namely, those of Germany, France, and Great Britain. Captain Bertrand, representing Switzerland, is also associated with us, and Mr. Robert Speer is a member of a Committee in the United States formed for the same purpose. I desire at the outset to acknowledge the remarkable manner in which the Great Powers have acted in concert on this question, and that thus a great part of the African Continent is free from imported liquor. I propose, however, to deal not with the history of our movement, but with a crisis which has arisen, owing to the recent publication of the Report of a Committee of Inquiry sent out by the British Government to examine into the spirit trade in Southern Nigeria. It might be considered inappropriate to deal with this at an International Conference, as being rather a question of merely British colonial interest, but I think we should do so for two reasons. First, that the conditions described almost certainly apply to a large extent to the French, German, and Portuguese possessions on the coast. Secondly, that this Report has been deposited in the International Bureau at Brussels and has, therefore, become a document of International importance, and has caused something like consternation among some of our friends on the Continent. The Report has not only caused surprise abroad, but to a much greater extent at home. To be told that nearly four millions of gallons of spirits can be poured into one British colony, a steadily increasing import, and yet that there is no race deterioration, due to drink, is so astounding an assertion that we may well pause before we accept it. Happily the Report was accompanied by a large volume of evidence, and with this in our hand we are able to estimate the value of the finding of this Committee of Inquiry. Let me say in the first place that the methods which were adopted in obtaining evidence make it impossible for us to regard it as a judicial inquiry. The onus of proving the injury of the liquor traffic was thrown mainly upon the Bishop of the Diocese, Bishop Tugwell, and his fellow-missionaries, whilst the local Government set themselves to defend the trade. Nor was this all. Certain unfortunate occurrences absolutely prejudiced the whole case before the inquiry began. I can only mention two of these. Between the appoint-

ments of the Committee and its arrival on the field the chief of the large town of Ibadan advised his people not to buy gin, and the trade was practically stopped. This was strongly objected to in commercial and Government circles, and the acting President immediately suspended the chief's subsidy, which was only reinstated when the chief had sent a bellman round the town to advise the people again to buy gin. It is little wonder after such treatment that this chief and other native chiefs who were known to be opposed to the spirit traffic, changed their minds and gave their support to the Government policy. The second incident has reference to a statement made by Bishop Tugwell in England in May 1908, to the effect that fines were paid in gin, and received by the Government at certain courts in Southern Nigeria. To a question which was asked in the House of Commons on 29th June 1908, the following reply was given :—" The Secretary of State has communicated with the Governor by telegram and is informed that the statement that fines imposed by the Government are paid in gin in any part of Southern Nigeria is entirely without foundation. I regret that such a statement should have been made." A public rebuke in Parliament was a serious rebuff for Bishop Tugwell, but the Governor of the Colony was not even satisfied with this humiliation, for, speaking to his legislative Council in the Colony in the Bishop's absence, he dealt emphatically with the matter and, after saying that he had communicated with his subordinate officials, he affirmed that there was not a word of truth in the statement. For a year that brave and honourable man, Bishop Tugwell, remained under the stigma of disseminating false statements, and then in the summer of 1909 when the acting Colonial Secretary was under examination by the Committee of Inquiry he stated that " there was no doubt that gin had been accepted, as I say, in payment of fines and fees in the native courts of Brass." These were six in number according to the witness, and it was also discovered that a Government clerk was actually undergoing a sentence of five years' imprisonment in the prison of Old Calabar for embezzling these court fines in gin. Bishop Tugwell is thus triumphantly vindicated, though not a word of apology has been made so far as we can ascertain ; but then he is only a missionary, and it is apparently thought in Southern Nigeria that missionary evidence can be ridiculed and placed on one side and that no protest will be made. In spite, however, of these serious difficulties the evidence given before the Committee of Inquiry proves clearly the following points :—First, that degrading drunkenness exists, especially associated with native festivals ; secondly, that young men and women and even little children are given spirits ; and thirdly, thousands of cases are reported of children being pawned to pay the debts of their parents' gin-drinking,—this meaning slavery, and that under the British Flag. Can you believe it

that children are pawned to pay debts for gin, and there are thousands of slaves in the British Colonies in consequence of that? Mohammedans are drinking gin and pleading for it, because we Christians have so degraded them, and their children are taking it, and then they say that there is no race deterioration.

Rev. J. K. Giffen, D.D. (United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in Egyptian Sudan): I wish to emphasise the finding of this Commission with regard to the Sudan rather than criticise it, but I wish to bring to your notice the conditions that prevail in the Egyptian Sudan, and in doing this it grieves me that I must make these statements, because the very best personal relations exist between the missionaries of the two Societies that are working in the Sudan and the officials of the Sudan Government, and we regard them as our friends and they have in us a certain confidence. At the same time they have placed upon us a restraint, a prohibition of the work among the Mohammedans of the Sudan. Now, brethren, this state of things ought not to be—and we appeal to you or to this Conference and through this Conference to the Government that has the responsibility in the Egyptian Sudan that this state of affairs may very soon be rectified, and I believe in the good common-sense of your representatives in such countries that it very soon will be if properly brought to their notice. In the second place, another matter I wish to mention that affects both the Sudan and Egypt is the non-observance of the Christian Sabbath and the keeping of the Friday as a Holy day. I bring this to your attention and I believe that there will be no complaint from any Egyptian if the Government officials who have the responsibility in the Nile Valley would declare that Christian employés of the Government may have their Sabbath on the Lord's Day. There is still one more matter that I wish to call attention to and I dislike very much to do it here, because I believe it is very much like taking hold of a hot wire, but I must do it, and that is the attitude of the Gordon Memorial College towards Christianity. I believe that college, if it ought to be anything, ought to be a living testimony to the life of Gordon who was above all else a Christian man, but as a matter of fact I can give testimony that the influence of that college is Mohammedan throughout. In the teaching of language every appeal is made to the Koran. In the teaching of literature there are four years given for the study of the Koran. There is a place provided for the teaching of the principles of the Koran and for prayer according to the Koran, and there is no provision made for teaching [Mohammedans [1]] the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. This, my friends, I believe ought not to be.

[1] We understand that in the Gordon College the Bible is being taught to the Copts.—Ed.

The Hon. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, (Lincoln, Nebraska): I shall not discuss the problems with which other nations are dealing but with which our nation is not dealing. I regard those as delicate questions, questions most difficult to consider or discuss. But there are five propositions that can be presented in which our nation is as equally interested as other nations. First, I want to emphasise the Report and that paragraph of it which says that it is the duty of nations dealing with non-Christian nations to help in the education and the development of those nations. I believe that no Christian nation can justify doing business in any other country or having any dealings with any other country unless it is fully in sympathy with the highest and largest development of the country with which it does business or in which it is represented, and all these nations which are in business should therefore interest themselves in the people among whom they go. The second is that Christian nations and Christian Governments hinder or help missionaries in proportion as they make a good impression upon foreigners who come into their country, and it is the duty of Christian nations to deal with absolute justice with all people who come within their borders and live under their jurisdiction, for if a nation that is Christian deals unjustly with people coming into the country, those people send the word back home and it must be a hindrance to the influence of the nation abroad. The third is that a Christian nation must deal *justly* with any nation with which it deals, and that Christian nations through the action of their Governments can largely help or hinder the spread of Christianity by the conduct of these nations through their officials and through those whom the officials support in their action. The fourth is that the influence of the Government should everywhere be on the side of that which is best, and you will pardon me if I suggest one application of this thought. I shall not speak of the opium traffic, for that is not a subject with which our nation has largely to deal, but with the liquor traffic, with which it has to deal. I believe the time has come when the Christian people in the Christian nations should ask their Governments to throw their influence upon the side of temperance and not on the side of intemperance. It seems to me that these Christian nations might, through their officials, set an example which would be helpful to those working against the use of liquor and not allow their example to support and sustain those dealing in liquor and those using it. The fifth and last thought is this, that these Christian nations ought to stand as one united in behalf of the cause of peace. I do not understand how two Christian nations can very well justify going to war with each other to settle a question of right or wrong, and therefore it seems to me that there might be, if not a formal expression, at least an individual expression on this subject, and I am hoping that we have about reached

the time when the Christian nations will agree amongst themselves that if any dispute arises which defies diplomatic settlement it shall be submitted to an international impartial tribunal at least for investigation and report before the guns of war begin to fire.

Rev. B. P. J. MARCHAND (Dutch Reformed Church, South Africa): You will allow me to say a few words regarding the relations of Missions with the Governments of South Africa in the past and their probable relations in the future with the Government of the union of South Africa. I regret to find the name of only one correspondent in the mission field from South Africa in the list of those consulted by the Commission. First, the relations with the South African Governments in the past. The Commission rightly and justly says that the attitude of the Governments in Cape Colony, the Free State Colony and the Transvaal has been favourable to mission work, and that mission educational work was aided. The Cape Colony in particular, with which I am best acquainted, has for many years pursued a most enlightened native policy. Missionaries have had a free hand in their work. As a concrete proof of this you have the fact that, according to the last census, there are in Cape Colony 339,411 individuals of mixed native races; of this number 27 per cent., *i.e.* 91,230 are communicants and adherents of the Church which I represent, the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. This is the largest percentage belonging to any Christian denomination. These people are organised in a self-governing Synod, though still subordinate to the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church. This is still necessary, as they are not self-supporting and as quite a considerable amount of the work that is being done is still of the nature of purely foreign missionary enterprise. Take another concrete example. In 1861 the Dutch Reformed Church began mission work in the Northern Transvaal. One of the missionaries who took up work there then, the Rev. Henri Gonin, is a delegate of this Conference, and after 49 years of service, he can look back upon work done. The tribe among whom he settled has now become professedly Christian, the King himself being a communicant. The Transvaal was then a republic. It is therefore plain that missionaries have been able to proclaim the Gospel message, without let or hindrance in South Africa. I beg leave therefore to express my dissent when the Commission speaks of "the thorny and intricate problem of the native races" in South Africa. I know of no such problem from a purely missionary point of view. When you come to politics there is indeed such a problem, but I hold that missions as such, so long as they can carry on their work unfettered, have nothing to do with that problem. In my humble opinion, the less missionaries have to do with politics in any shape or form, the better for the

exalted object they have in view and the less chance there will be of losing the sympathy of the Government and the financial support for educational work which they now enjoy. Now as regards the relations with the South African Government in the future. I see no reason to fear any departure from the policy hitherto pursued by the different States, and my reason for this conviction lies in the fact that the Parliament of South Africa will be elected by voters who are, by an overwhelming majority, members of some Christian Church, and I do not know any Church in South Africa in which the missionary spirit is absent. Let me, however, speak for my own Church, the Dutch Reformed, whose members form the bulk of the electorate. What is the policy of that Church as regards Missions? Take this fact—a recent one. We had a deficit in our mission funds in 1909 of about £5,000, due to extensions in Nyasaland and the purchase from the Berlin Missionary Society of its stations in Mashonaland (Rhodesia). Our veteran leader, the Rev. Dr. Andrew Murray, organised a Mission crusade, and the amount collected ran to about £10,000. The deficit was not only covered but a large amount became available for further extensions. In Nyasaland the Church of Cape Colony has 37 European workers, 243 stations and outstations, 865 evangelists and teachers, 25,796 children in school, and over 5,000 baptized Christians and catechumens. The Church of the Free State Colony has 13 European workers, 324 native evangelists and teachers, and over 9,000 children under instruction. The Transvaal Dutch Reformed Church has begun work in Portuguese East Africa, (Portuguese Nyasaland). I beg to make special note of the latter fact, as it proves that we have the permission from the Portuguese Government to establish missions in their territory. It took some time to obtain this concession, but our missionary is already at work now. Now I beg to submit, Mr. Chairman, that these facts justify the conviction, that a Church which has proved its missionary spirit to such an extent that it numbers in the South African Colonies over a hundred mission congregations, has extensive mission undertakings in Northern Transvaal, in Bechuanaland, Mashonaland and Nyasaland, will use its influence through its Church membership towards maintaining and improving the relations between Missions and the Governments of the whole African sub-continent. And in the exertion of this influence the Dutch Reformed Church will naturally have the support of the other Christian Churches of South Africa. Among the members of the Senate of the Union of South Africa, we have men of earnest missionary spirit; of the Transvaal, men of great political influence. There is no more earnest friend of missions and devoted Christian than General Beyers, the late Speaker of the Transvaal House of Assembly. He is, in fact, the Chairman of the Mission Committee of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Transvaal. I believe I

have given the Conference sufficient facts, though necessarily few, to justify the conviction that as far as the South African Government is concerned, the work of missionaries will be looked upon, not only with tolerance, but with sympathy, and will continue to receive financial help for educational work.

Rev. F. B. Bridgman (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in South Africa): At nearly every point I heartily endorse what has been said this morning by my brethren from South Africa, but in one or two statements I differ. While hesitating to introduce a discordant note, I must be true to my convictions. The native policy of the Cape Colony has certainly been enlightened and liberal, but if the last speaker had lived in other parts he could not say that there existed no restrictions on the preaching of the Gospel in South Africa, as I understood him to say. In Natal, Missionary Societies have for the past eight years been seriously restricted in the use of native evangelists, even though under European supervision. The statement of the Commission on this subject is correct, but I am glad to say that there is good indication that this unjustifiable restriction will soon be removed. Coming to the broader question, I would say that a Christian Power, with the destiny of a subject people, can accept no lower ideal than the Golden Rule. In the past it can hardly be said that the South African colonies in general have done to the natives as they would be done by. I feel in some respect that there has been a sad lack of a deep sense of responsibility on the part of the ruling race for the welfare of the weaker race. Outside of Cape Colony the guiding motive appears to have been dominated by the factors of labour supply, taxation, and the keeping of the peace. But now with the birth of the Union of South Africa we may hope for a brighter outlook. Some of the larger factors in the responsibility of the white race to the black are these. 1. *The land question.* This is a bed-rock issue. To ensure the future welfare of the native races, the new Government will need, despite a rather popular demand, to keep intact the great native reserves of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. Moreover, the legal barriers existing in two provinces preventing the natives from buying land in the market should be removed. 2. *Agricultural training.* But even if secured in his tenure of land, the native will derive small benefit from his holdings unless instructed in agriculture. This task is so great and so urgent that Mission institutions cannot hope to cope with the situation unless far more generously aided by Government grants. Without agricultural training the native will be for ever compelled to leave the land and their houses, and go to the town and mines in order to make a living—a practice which is fast destroying the home. 3. The so-called "Muni-

cipal Locations," or native villages adjoining every European town or city, are in need of radical improvement. Nearly all of these native villages, some with 10,000 population—are hot-beds of vice and disease, and a danger to the whites themselves. In conclusion we may ask how is South Africa to acquire a more adequate sense of its responsibility for the advancement of its native people? In the first place, it must be fully recognised that, with the inauguration of the Union Government, the destiny of South Africa is in her own hands. Henceforth there is to be no outside interference. Thus it is the South African electorate that will determine the policy toward the aboriginal tribes, and in shaping public opinion to a broadminded, progressive native programme the European Churches embracing the white Christian community, have a great responsibility. Furthermore, it seems to me that this responsibility must be shared by the missionaries who, more than any one else, are in close sympathetic touch with the natives. European ministers and their congregations have the right to depend largely upon the missionary for information pertaining to the condition, need, and aspiration of the native races. Here is a field in which the missionary has a great opportunity in shaping public opinion, yet without in any way entering politics. The associations of leading business and professional men, together with ministers and missionaries, which have been organised in Johannesburg and Durban for the sympathetic study of native problems are signs of promise. Authorities are agreed that the race question in South Africa is one of the most difficult yet faced. Indirectly and in a variety of ways the missionary may act as an intermediary between white and black, helping each to understand the other better.

The Hon. Seth Low, LL.D. (of New York): It would be a great pity that this Conference should break up and that there should be left an impression that I fear may have been created that the British Government is, in its relation to Missions, either lukewarm or unfriendly. It is true that at certain points, especially where it comes in contact with Moslems, the far-flung Government line of Great Britain exposes it as you have heard to criticism which perhaps all of us feel to be measurably just, but I want to say, as an American member of this Commission, that from all the American Missionary Boards throughout India and everywhere where they come in contact with the British Government they had no complaint to make.

Afternoon Session.

The Conference took up the consideration of the following findings from the Report of the Commission:—

(5) The Rights of Native Christians.
(6) Missions in British India.

Rev. A. B. Wann, D.D. (late Principal Scottish Churches College, Calcutta): I suppose that each day when a new Report has been presented, some one belonging to the Commission has modestly claimed that the subject of it is the most important one that comes before the Conference, and to-day's Report is no exception to that rule. The peculiarity, however, about this Report and this subject is that it is something new in the history of Missionary Conferences; it discusses the relations of Governments to Missions, and this is a peculiarly difficult task. In all the other Commissions we have been, so to speak, within the sphere of the Christian Church, and we have been dealing with the Church's duty, but in the Commission whose Report is under review to-day we are dealing with other powers, with the powers of the State in all parts of the world. Here we are encountered by a twofold difficulty; the first is the enormous variety in the kinds of Government that we have to deal with, and secondly, what is not so obvious, that we are not all of one mind as to what the ideal relations of the Church to the State are. It is one of our difficulties at home, that we do not see eye to eye, all of us, with regard to how we shall divide duties—say the duties of education—between the Church and the State, and therefore there was some difficulty in the Commission coming to a unanimous finding with regard to quite a number of things that came under our notice. But we have at least reached a hearty agreement in the Report that is now before you, particularly in the conclusions which are embodied in the second part of it. You will understand, however, that there has been a great deal of combustible material which we have had to keep outside of the Report. There is hardly a large Mission in any part of the world which has not some grievance against some Government, and a very large number of Missions and missionaries have very naturally desired to make this Conference the occasion, and this Commission the medium, by which these grievances should be ventilated, and action taken against the error of Government. I think that the Commission did wisely in declining to undertake such duties. It has in the Report made mention of certain great public questions about which Christian opinion all over the world is so completely unanimous, that it would have been an act of cowardice to have passed them over. We have been careful not to make rash charges, and not to make charges against Governments in regard to which, though they might be true and well founded, we had not the materials before us. There may be some cases in which the materials for judgment were before us, but we deliberately

resolved to abstain from coming to a judgment because we felt that we only had things in a fragmentary way at present. What we need is that Missions should be consolidated, that a Mission Board should be formed with a body of members representative of different Missions, so that the Governments of the world might be approached where necessary by the united forces of the Missions in the world.

Mr. W. B. Sloan (China Inland Mission, London): Mr. Chairman, I speak upon a detail in this Report with a view to emphasising the attitude that the Commission has taken up. In the Report the following passages occur, "Martyr lives are things for which no compensation shall be asked or received by any Mission," and again: "As regards compensation for life, we concur in the view held by the majority of missionaries that such compensation should not be accepted so far as the Mission Boards themselves are concerned."

It may seem almost unnecessary to emphasise what the Commission has so emphatically stated, and yet I feel that from experience in the mission field there is a necessity for our dwelling again upon this point. Some years ago two of our missionaries met with martyr death in China. In the case of one of those missionaries a Chinese official was very specially responsible. The British Government from their standpoint of responsibility required the death of that official, and exacted the sum of £10,000. It has been explained to us that that was not to be considered compensation, but rather the punishment upon the people for this uprising, and the death of these missionaries. When the British Government had obtained this money they came to our Executive in China, and asked us to accept this £10,000 for work in that region. It was declined. Supposing for a moment it be said that this was punishment, and not compensation, can we suppose for an instant that the Chinese officials or the Chinese people will make the distinction between the meaning of our two English words, compensation and punishment, when £10,000 has been exacted from them. I hold that we cannot. Afterwards our own Foreign Office in London addressed our Executive at home, and again pressed upon us the acceptance of this money. I had an interview with one of the officials at the Foreign Office, and informed him that we could not accept the money and the reason why, and he said to me that day, "Speaking to you personally I should like to say that from the Mission standpoint you are perfectly right, but as a Government we had to take up this matter." Then the British Government approached another British Missionary Society, and I am thankful to say that, after due consideration, they also declined to receive the money.

Now I reach the climax of my statement. I mention no Mission. I am speaking without recrimination for the past, but in order

to impress upon this Conference a great principle for the future. I say that one Mission, I believe two, both of whose bases are outside of Great Britain, accepted that money to utilise it for the work of their Mission in China. May I appeal to the Delegates assembled in this great Conference, whatever may be our own individual view with regard to the rightfulness or wrongfulness of compensation, that when any Missionary Society seeking to realise this duty to God has acted in that way, and declined such money, no other Mission will receive such money, and utilise it for that purpose?

Rev. John Ross, D.D. (United Free Church of Scotland, Manchuria): There is one phrase in the Report to which I would like to draw attention. At the third line of the section under "China" (p. 7) there occur these words, "The attitude of the Chinese Government to all foreigners, its opposition to Christianity."[1] I would like very much if the Commission could find its way to modify this phrase of "opposition to Christianity." It may not be apparent, but I know, from information which I am not at liberty to divulge, that the Chinese Government is not opposed to Christianity. I have heard that in intercourse with a large number of Chinese officials. We have spoken on many subjects and, among others, on Christian doctrine. I have never met a single one who was not loud in his praises of the ethics of Christianity. I have never met an official who was opposed to Christianity, but the Chinese are opposed to foreigners. And the Chinese officials are opposed to foreigners, and they can give many good reasons. We speak of treaty rights; treaty rights are sometimes absolutely wrong. Of all the treaties concluded with China by Foreign Powers I do not know of any one into which the Chinese entered voluntarily, except the last, to cut away the curse of opium —and no financial considerations would induce the Chinese to consent to prolongation of that curse in the land—in spite of all financial considerations, they are quite prepared to cut off opium within two years. There are other matters which enter into this hostility or opposition which I cannot refer to very particularly. But I wish to ask this question. Supposing a foreigner went into the Sheriff Court here in Edinburgh and saw two citizens litigating, two citizens of different creeds, and because they were of different creeds this foreigner interfered and endeavoured to dictate to the magistrate to what decision he should come, what would be thought of such treatment here? That treatment has been meted out to the Chinese officials for scores of years. It can be carried out now in any city in China, if the foreigner is

[1] To make the meaning of the Commission clear, the words "because of its connection with Foreign Powers" have been added in the revision of the final Report (see p. 7).

ready to undertake such a task. As long as the judge in China, sitting over cases in which only Chinese are litigants, is subject to such intervention or such degradation in the face of his own fellow-countrymen, why should you be surprised that Chinese officials are opposed to foreigners?

If we can remove the idea from the Chinese Government and the Chinese official that Christianity and Christian Missions are a political agency—if you remove every ground upon which that belief is based—then you will remove the greatest obstacle existing to-day to the progress of Missions in China.

Rev. THAN KHAN (American Baptist Society, Tura, Assam): I wish I could speak good English so as to make you understand what I mean. What I want to say is that in this Report it states that the British India Government takes a neutral attitude on religious matters. Contrariwise I say it is not so. When Government says, "Do not teach the Bible in Government schools," do you think it is really taking a neutral side? I say it is on the other side. I know character forms man or woman, and heart forms character. We see good women or good men by their good characters, and we see good characters according to their hearts. If their heart is all right, the man's or woman's character is all right. I do not want to say that Government ought to force Christian teaching in Government schools, but allow the reading of the Scriptures, as it has been in American colleges and schools, and also, I understand, in British schools. This Scripture is the means of conversion, and it will be the means of turning into good subjects all the people of British India.

FINDING (7) THE BELGIAN CONGO.

Rev. Dr. THOMAS S. BARBOUR (American Baptist Society, Boston): Why should the issue of wrongs in the Congo be given prominence above other alleged wrongs in the Report of the Commission and in the discussions of the Conference?

1. Because the issue is unique as respects its relation to Governments. When, one generation ago, Stanley had come out of Africa, and the peoples of the Congo, through no choice of their own, were brought suddenly out from their seclusion into relations with the world of men and of States, the great Western Powers did not say, "The interests of this people are of no concern to us. Let whoever will do with them as he will." They said, "We are greatly concerned." They constituted themselves guardians of all the great territory of the Congo basin. In the most solemn language they defined just principles which must be regarded in all administration of the territory. This declaration was made at Berlin, and five years later at Brussels, in an action in which the United States Government as well as the

Powers of Europe participated, the declaration was confirmed. When through their acquiescence in the agreement reached by the more interested Powers an allotment of the territory was made, this result was reached with the clear understanding that the beneficent principles affirmed by the Conference would be regarded.

To these principles the International African Association (soon in some mysterious manner to be absorbed in the individuality of King Leopold) subscribed, *becoming thus a trustee* of the Powers by whom the guardianship was accepted. The representative of the United States Government in a letter written to his Government refers to the new State as "that Trustee Government which is to administer the Trust for the common benefit," and a distinguished Belgian jurist at the close of the Conference said of the Congo State, "It is an international colony." Thus the issue is one which touches *the honour* of all Governments of the West and the pride and honour of every representative of this Conference, excepting those who are among us from the countries of the farthest East.

The issue is unique also, unhappily, in the enormity of the wrongs to which it relates. The Report of Commission VII. declares, "One of the most widespread and horrible series of atrocities which has stained the history of humanity has been perpetrated on the peoples of the Congo during the last quarter of a century." The world knows the story of the inhumanities, dreadful beyond characterisation, to which the people of great areas of the Congo have been subjected. The truthfulness of the story unhappily is beyond controversy. Missionary organisations indeed could not doubt its truthfulness at the time when their representatives—British, Swedish, American—all organisations, working in the Congo territory who are represented in this body, unanimously bore this testimony. Knowing these men they knew that the one reasonable explanation of their testimony was that given by a representative of a British Society, who I think sits now in one of the galleries, in a letter to a Congo official: "I deeply regret having to write this letter to you, but I cannot sit quietly and see these unfortunate folk crushed by oppression and cruelty without making a protest in the name of religion and humanity." All honour to the true-hearted men who, at the cost of great personal peril, have given to the world their faithful, courageous testimony.

But doubt as to conditions in the Congo State is for ever made impossible by the Report rendered by the King's Commission, appointed by him when intervention by Western Governments was threatened. I have seen in the diary of a single missionary a record of a thousand instances of inhumanities in which name and place and date were recorded. No public assembly could listen without a shuddering, sickening horror to a page from

this record, but its most terrible revelations are paralleled by the implications of the Report of the King's Commission.

It must be said—it is indeed a familiar and just statement—that even this testimony was not needed in confirmation of the accusations made against the State, for these inhumanities were but the natural and inevitable sequence of a wrong acknowledged. The State laid claim to ownership in all vacant lands, and declared that all lands were vacant except the door-yards of the people. Thus the people were disinherited of their land. They were denied a right to its produce. The right of trade was refused them. Robbery of lands was followed by robbery of labour, and the enormous native army drafted from savage tribes to enforce the demand for labour followed on. Of such a system horrors terrible even as those presented in the current reports are the inevitable product.

Why should such an issue as that before us receive consideration from a Conference of Missionary Organisations? Because of its appeal to humanity, of course. But more than this—

1. Because a united body of Christian missionaries met in Conference again and again in solemn appeal has pressed the issue upon the world's attention.

2. Because the work of missionary organisations has been hindered. Sites for new mission stations have been refused in contravention of the provision of the Berlin Act, in which missionary work was solicited as an invaluable agency in the accomplishment of the aims of that body, and freedom in work, without distinction of race or creed, was definitely pledged.

3. Because a vast region in the interior of Africa has been denied the light of the Gospel and condemned to be written down as unoccupied territory, although devoted men have stood at its gates entreating the privilege of entering it.

I have said the incident has been unique in its enormity. Is this true still? Does the wrong continue?

Certain changes have occurred. The territory is now administered as a colony of Belgium. Certain reforms are proposed by the Belgian Colonial Minister. A new king rules in Belgium. As to the transfer, consent to it has not yet been given by the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, but the territory is administered as a Belgian colony.

It is plain that the transfer cannot change the duty of guardianship accepted by the Powers. Theirs is a continuing responsibility. The obligations recognised at Berlin and Brussels were obligations to the people of the territory of the Congo basin, irrespective of political relations. The king could transfer only that which he possessed, and this was not absolute sovereignty, but sovereignty limited by a position of trusteeship. Has this action afforded relief? To ask this is to ask: Is the action practically that of transfer of control to the nobler people of

Belgium, or has control fallen to those identified with the old system and interested in perpetuating its gains? Unhappily the testimony is not such as to remove apprehension. The great companies retain their holdings and the government shares in their gains. A German agent of one company returned last fall from the Congo with a story of wrongs paralleling the worst iniquities of the past.

Do the proposed reforms afford assurance of relief? Their main feature is the opening of territory to freedom of trade in selected sections at designated periods within the next two years. Let us hear the verdict of the Primate of the Church of England as to these proposals: "The reforms now announced or foreshadowed are so manifestly inadequate in their character and must, even at the best, be so tardy in their operation that it is impossible for us to look upon the situation with confidence.

Defects which render the proposals gravely unsatisfactory are:—The delay in action which is demanded at once in fidelity to the pledges given to the Powers and in correction of the wrongs inflicted upon the people.

The fact that when the last of the promised openings of territory has been made, an area fourteen times the size of Belgium and one-fourth larger than that of Great Britain and Ireland apparently may still remain under control of the concessionary companies and subject to the old régime.

The fact that the Budget of Belgium, under which its administration is now proceeding, so far from making provision for a grant-in-aid to the impoverished people of the Congo, contemplates receipt by Belgium from the Congo of one-half its total revenues—the sum of £900,000, one-half of which is to be derived from the gathering of rubber.

We would cherish all possible confidence concerning the character and purpose of the new king. But if the king's purpose is unimpeachable, will he be capable of contending successfully against the powerful interests committed to a practical continuance of the old policy. It must be recognised as exceedingly unfortunate that the personnel of the administration of the Congo remains almost unaltered. Pass by the king and we meet with men who have shared deeply in responsibility for the appalling crimes of the old régime. Equally deplorable is the fact that unto this hour the system underlying the surface iniquities, a system by which the people are dispossessed of the soil and left homeless among the peoples of the earth, remains unaltered, openly defended and approved by the Belgian Government. The fallacy by which this system is declared to be only the familiar assertion of the rights of government to vacant lands has been exposed, notably by Mr. Root, late Secretary of State, in a letter to the Belgian minister: "In a country where there has been no ownership of land in severalty but only communal ownership of right

over extensive tracts, to allot to the Government and its concessionary companies ownership in severalty of all lands not already owned and held in severalty, is in effect to deprive the natives of their rights to the soil." He adds: "The Government of the United States confidently expects that the restoration of the land to the natives will be commensurate to the value of the communal rights of which they have been deprived hitherto."

Truly, to the present hour the changes realised or promised are but a meagre product of the exposure by the Commission of the late king of the unspeakable wrongs chargeable to his administration and the demand of the outraged conscience of mankind. They play about the edges of true reform.

We would not fail in courtesy and charity towards the new king and toward a sister people, but what is wanted in view of the appalling wrongs by which this people have been crushed is not that we shall have courtesy or confidence but that action in correction of the wrongs shall be so unequivocal, so thoroughgoing, that none can doubt that they are for ever brought to an end. Belgium can afford nothing less than this; the Powers can accept nothing less; Christian men present in this body and those whom they represent can be content with nothing less.

Professor Dr. H. Van Nes (Netherlands Missionary Society, Leyden, Holland): I belong to a little nation, and so you will say perhaps that I must necessarily have a narrow view of the things we deal with. Yet our Danish friend who addressed us last Friday night deserves the cordial thanks of little nations, and especially of the Dutch, as he showed in such an eloquent manner that even the little ones—I mean those who have not to pray "Lead us not into political temptation, but deliver us from political evil"—may have something to say in the missionary world. It has always been a peculiar characteristic of Dutch missionaries, as it is stated in the Report at page 39, that they would have nothing to do with political affairs. What is said about missionaries may be said also about missionary corporations, and I venture to say it is true of the Dutch Mission that it does not intermeddle with politics in any way, or at any time. So you will conceive it is out of the line of the Dutch Mission. I am speaking in the name of all the Dutch delegates present and absent, the delegates to the Conference who have authorised me to speak in their name, and to say that we Dutch delegates feel obliged to strike a somewhat discordant note. We know very well that the Committee has been aware, keenly aware, of the danger in this way. I read in the Report, page 90, that the invoking of the aid of the secular arm has often been a fatal policy for the Church at home. I notice also at page 98 reference is made to the independent authority of all nations, of the mighty Powers, and also of the little nations. I feel keen sympathy

with all those who aim in a legal and moral and Christian way to prevent any atrocity in the world, and in the Congo State, and yet I may say that to the Conference as such it is not proper to intervene. I venture to say that Finding 7 is so closely connected with international political affairs that it does not fall under the judgment of a Missionary Conference. By meddling with international politics, as it is proposed under Finding 7, it is my sincere persuasion that the missionary world would have no gain but would suffer a real loss. There are many enemies of the Mission who say that behind the Mission the politicians are standing, and that missionary labour is only the means of getting political influence. When we take Finding 7 as the resolution of the Conference directing itself to the Powers, I say that all these enemies of missionary labour may have a splendid occasion for repeating their accusations.

Rev. C. E. Wilson (Baptist Missionary Society, London): The Missions that are interested in the region of the Congo have much cause for gratitude to Commission VII. for their references to this subject in their excellent Report. And the assured sympathy of all the missionary brotherhood has been a great support and comfort to us through all the sore trial and sorrow of the past few years. We may be forgiven if we feel strongly on this subject, for we have good cause to love our Congo Missions. The spiritual success has been amazing in these thirty years. But it has been costly in money and life. The Society with which I am associated have sent out upwards of 160 missionaries and more than one-third of these have died; many more have had to give up in broken health. Our sister Missions of Britain, America, and Sweden have suffered as severely. Our stations are in Portuguese Congo, and in the territory now called Belgian Congo, the annexation of which still awaits recognition by the United States and British Governments. It has long been our ambition to extend a chain of stations of the Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society right across to Uganda and Tanganyika. The obstruction of the Congo State has been our great hindrance. I will not trust myself to speak of the misrule of the Congo. Our Protestant missionaries have been severely criticised both ways on this Congo question. 1. Our Missions were there before the Congo State was founded. We welcomed the coming of the Belgians. We trusted the Belgians, and were long unwilling to believe any evil of the Leopold administration. Our missionaries have always striven to serve the public interest in every land, and both by their own attitude and behaviour, and in the teaching of their converts, have inculcated loyalty and honour to the country's rulers. This we believe to be our duty as Christian men and Christian teachers. 2. Some of our missionaries have been called upon and have gladly con-

sented to serve the State as far as their missionary calling permitted. The services of George Grenfell and Dr. Holman Bentley were graciously marked by King Leopold with honourable recognition. 3. Long before the Congo administration was brought to the bar of European and American judgment in the public Press for the matter of its treatment of the helpless humanity entrusted by the Powers to its care as far back as 1892, our missionaries had brought to the notice of the local Government what they then thought were terrible lapses of discipline leading to cruelty and outrage. In every case we have first made our report to the highest local official—failing proper redress we have reported the matter to the Governor. We have a legal representative at the base through whom these matters are presented. And it is only when these proper means have failed or been ignored that the public Press of Europe has been appealed to. It was eleven years after the first complaints that the Press exposures began. The Congo authorities have no real ground of complaint against the Protestant missionaries, for by the Report of 1892 to 1903 the Commission of Inquiry appointed by King Leopold, no one of the members of which was a Protestant, the words of the Protestant missionaries as of the British and American Consuls were amply vindicated, that in some cases the evangelical missionary had come to be regarded by the natives as the only representative of equity and justice. 4. We have always cultivated friendly relations with Belgium. We have warmly welcomed the interest of our Protestant brethren in Belgium in Congo mission affairs—we are not political agents. We have this year appointed a young Belgian Protestant as a worker in our Mission and are now receiving financial help from Churches in Belgium towards his support. We have exercised much patience in regard to the matter of new mission sites in which we have been treated with less than proper justice and courtesy by the Government, and again and again the sites we selected were given away to Romanist Missions. We have endeavoured to avoid embarrassing our own Government in their difficult negotiations with Belgium regarding annexation, and our undoubted rights as British missionaries in the conventional basin of the Congo. We are still waiting for real and genuine reform. But we are not going to give up our divinely appointed task to work for the emancipation and uplifting of the down-trodden and oppressed people of the Congo. Our missionaries have not died in vain. We have nothing but good wishes for King Albert of Belgium and his people, but his throne cannot prosper nor his people be ennobled by tyranny and cruelty. We have been patiently waiting, but good words are not enough. If the Christian Governments of Europe and America cannot or will not see this wrong righted, God will raise up somewhere and somehow the arm that will bring salvation. Brethren, pray for the Congo!

Pasteur R. MEYHOFFER (Eglise Chrétienne Missionaire, Belgium): Having been engaged during the last thirty-five years in the evangelisation of Belgium, I feel it my duty to say a few words here on the important question of the Congo brought before you to-day. First of all I must mention that already three years ago, when very little was known in Belgium of the atrocities reported abroad, the Synod of our Christian Missionary Church passed a resolution to protest against the policy carried on in the Congo, and another of sympathy to all Missionary Societies working there, for their courageous and faithful testimony. Many things have changed since then. In the first place, King Albert, who has visited the Congo, very strongly expressed, in the speech on his accession, his formal intention to do all in his power to help the progress and development of the Congolese population. In the second place, the Government itself is fully decided to change the system used in previous years in the Free State of Congo, now a Belgian Colony. New laws have been enacted, and though we can regret that the changes do not come more quickly, we must acknowledge that much has already been done. In the third place, we have in our Parliament, men who follow with sincere interest the Congo question. I shall only name one, M. Emile Vanderwelde, the first leader of the labour party, who said openly in Parliament that he was proud to be Mr. Morel's friend, when all the Press were against him. Vanderwelde has gone himself to Congo to plead the cause of the two American missionaries, Shepheard and Morrison; and latterly he has again declared in Parliament that the negroes were his brethren and that it was a duty for Belgium to help them as quickly as possible out of their sad situation. Besides this general movement in favour of the Congo, our two principal Belgian Churches have assisted lately to form a Committee for missionary work in the Congo, and have decided to send two delegates to visit all the stations of the different societies working there, so as to co-operate with them in the future. To conclude, we Christians of Belgium, find as well as you do, that things are going on slowly, too slowly specially in what concerns *forced labour*, but it would be unjust to deny that great changes have already taken place. The Congo is not any more under the dominion of one man, an absolute monarch, but under a constitutional Government which has to account for its resolutions before Parliament, so we may hope that a new era is opening for the Congo. Daylight is beginning to dawn; and though the horizon is still dark, some bright rays do already pierce the clouds. In the name of Belgium, and especially of all our evangelical Churches, I wish to thank most warmly all our brethren from England, Sweden and America, for what they have done, and still do, for our large colony, and express the hope that we may soon find some Belgian workers to co-operate with them.

The Right Honourable Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH (President of the Commission): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen, the task before me is not a light one, especially when it has to be compassed in some ten or twelve minutes, but I think you will understand me really to mean what I say on behalf of the Commission which has worked in preparing this Report, that we are deeply grateful for the reception it has met with to-day.

There have been criticisms here and criticisms there; in some places we seem not to have gone far enough, and in others to have gone too far to suit everybody. But I think we may go away to-day from this Hall feeling that the findings we have put before you and the information we have given you are drawn on lines which find an echo in the hearts and support from the intelligence of this Conference.

Let me say that it could not have been done so satisfactorily, but for the ability, the industry, and the great care with which Dr. Wann, who drafted the greater part of it, has sifted the information sent to him. Although everything that has been sent to us is not in the Report, there is much left behind which I hope will bear fruit in the future, and guide us in representations which may have to be made to the various Governments concerned. Much, I venture to say, in this Report is of more than temporary importance, much of it I think points to this, that we have lost in the past because we have not been able to discuss with one organised voice on many things on which we are agreed. I think, therefore, that this Report emphasises two points, first, the extreme desirability for much more co-operation between missionaries in the fields where they work, and next, much more co-operation between them and those at home, and those at home one with another, to see that every support is given to those abroad. I hope that these Conferences are making us mutually understand one another, making us see the difficulties, the disadvantages, and the discouragements, and making those of us who remain at home resolve, as we have never resolved before, to stand together to support those who are doing our work throughout the world. I think this Report shows the extreme importance of good understanding between Missionary Societies and Governments wherever that is possible. I venture to say, if you will allow me, that some of us did not claim quite enough for missionary work in support of the Governments They seem to think that trade did as much for a Government as missionary work. My reply is that although trade provides revenue, trade, like nature, does not need sympathy and pity, and if you are going to elevate a people—and without elevating you cannot do the best for the Government—it is the missionary, and the ideal of the missionary, you must give to that side of Government support. What would the difficulties of Governments in all these lands be, if there were no agents to instil into the people the Christian

ideals of love and self-sacrifice, Christian ideals carrying liberty with them and the responsibility which liberty entails, the absolute necessity for downright straightness of conduct even though it be to one's own disadvantage at the moment? There is one speech which went to my heart to-day more than almost any other, and that was the speech of my friend from Norway. He seemed to me to have grasped the very root of the matter. He had the absolute idea of the proportion—people should not be too hasty, and they should not go to sleep. They should not make too much of their personal interests, and they should not sacrifice a permanent advantage for a temporary victory. It seems to me in summing up the lessons of this Report, the words of my Norwegian friend stand out as the quintessence of good sense and guidance. We have had some criticisms, they were criticisms of the attitude of Governments in regard to the opium trade, and of its difficulties. There were allegations made about matters of favouritism in Northern Nigeria. There were serious allegations as to the liquor trade on the East Coast of Africa. There were suggestions hardly less unpleasant to hear of the Government favouritism of the Moslem religion in the Sudan and on the Nile. All these things were brought before us, I am certain, in perfectly good faith; but the lesson I want to draw from them, the counsel that I want to give to this great meeting is this, it will not be sufficient to hear what is said by this gentleman or that gentleman, and to pass to-day this resolution or that resolution. These Conferences come and Conferences go, but the Governments remain, and if you are going to get the best out of the energy and the time that has been spent in organising this Conference, you will, I hope, leave behind you, as is suggested in the Report, some permanent body which will speak for you, which will hear what you have to say to it, will sift it in a sympathetic and straightforward manner, and having itself attained to the truth, if the truth is against the action of the Government, will, with one voice, leave the Government which is concerned no peace until it gets reform.

It is all very well to write from this Mission or that 3000 or 5000 miles away, but what you want to have is inter-communication at home, and all the different communications that are made should be filed for reference, that one may confirm the other, and that when you have to go to Government you can say, "This is not an isolated case of wrong; this has been going on for more years than we like to say. We have got it from many places and therefore you cannot say that this is the isolated complaint or idiosyncrasy of a single man." I believe that when you come to decide on Commission VIII. to-morrow you will resolve to appoint, and I hope you will leave behind you, some Committee which will speak for you, after consultation with you it may be, but some permanent body which will represent you and help those

who are in the mission field. There is a vast mass of opinion behind us. It may be that the great body of us will not move so fast as everybody would like, but do let us in these matters have a settled policy. That does not mean an unprogressive policy; it means that you will take care not to be found out making a wrong representation, and Governments all over the world should be made to understand that these complaints are not made for frivolous purposes, but that being once made and sifted to the bottom, there will be no peace until reform is brought about through the proper agency. Let it not be done by this organisation or that organisation, but after settled and fair consideration of what is best for the missionary policy throughout the whole country which is chiefly concerned.

I am grateful to have had the opportunity of serving on this Commission, and I can only say that if in the future I can be of any use to the body over which I have presided with satisfaction to myself, and I hope with satisfaction to others, it will be a lasting pleasure and joy to myself.

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